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EDITORIAL

Marc Bloch opined, "History is neither watchmaking nor cabinet construction. It is an endeavor toward better understanding," highlighting that history, though not a precise science, adopts a scientific approach by using records and artifacts to reconstruct past eras. Like researchers in a lab, historians dissect evidence, employing methods such as analysis, organization, and inference to reveal reliable narratives. Yet, historical study surpasses mere data collection; it involves tracing the origins of events, blending rigorous scholarship with creative insight, and grounding conclusions in observable proof. This volume of the Utkal Historical Research Journal presents a dynamic range of research that delves into South Asia's multilayered past and its modern trajectories. The collection unites archaeological insights, gender studies, socio-political analyses, and cultural histories, offering a panoramic view of regional complexities and intellectual interventions.

Beginning with colonial constructions of the frontier, H. Sudhir Kumar Singh in "Colonial Knowledge Production and Empire Building in North-Eastern Frontier of India" scrutinizes the British imperial project, exposing how ethnographic classifications and strategic knowledge justified expansion after the Treaty of Yandaboo (1826).

Dr. Maroof Ahmad's study "Conflict and Collaboration in Rural Awadh during the Medieval India: A Study of Power Base of Awadh Rajputs (16th–18th Century)" analyzes kinship structures, fortified estates, and shifting loyalties to explain the Rajputs' strategies for political endurance under Mughal and Nawabi pressure. The article "Kamrupi Brahmin Widows in Cultural Context: A Case Study of Guwahati, Assam" by Epahi Baruah and Dr. Rena Laisram navigates widowhood within Brahmin households, interrogating the entanglement of patriarchy, ritual expectation, and agency. Neeta M. Khandpekar's "19th Century Historical Account of Ahmedabad City through Missionary Weekly (BG)" provides a rare lens into urban transformations and socio-religious dynamics through colonial-era missionary publications. In "Intricacies of Abstract Symbolism in Vatapi Chalukyan Iconography", Dr. C. B. Kamati embarks on a visual-textual journey, analyzing sacred Chalukyan art forms, their metaphysical motifs, and temple aesthetics within a broader historiographic framework. Widow welfare reappears in a legal-historical light in "Protecting the Un-Bannered Chariots: A Study of Early Indian Legal and Welfare Measures for the Well-Being of Widows" by Punit, Goswami Ramesh Dutt, and Benudhar Patra, who revisit Dharmashastric texts and charitable networks from 1000 BCE to 500 CE. Dr. Siddharth R. Dawane bridges archaeology and bio-anthropology in "A Glimpse into Harappan Health: Exploring Diseases and Medical Practices", revealing trephination, hygiene structures, and medicinal interventions from the Indus Valley Civilization. Odisha's prehistoric terrain is charted

by Dr. Atul Kumar Pradhan and Chudamani Rana in "Archaeological Exploration of Foothill of Barapahad Hill and Jhaun River Valley: A Preliminary Observation", documenting lithic remains and protohistoric settlements. Dr. Brundaban Mishra's essay "Ambedkar and the Hirakud Dam: An Examination of His Role in India's Big Dam Projects" reclaims B.R. Ambedkar's under-acknowledged contributions to India's hydraulic modernization and social engineering visions. Folk practices take center stage in "Little Traditions of North Coastal Odisha: A Cultural Historical Analysis" by Prasant Kumar Sahoo, highlighting the dynamic interplay between great traditions and local religious-cultural expressions. Kerala's caste politics and sacred geography are explored by Dr. Thushad T. in "Aryan Migration and the Nambudiri Brahmins: Unravelling Socio-Political Dynamics in Kerala Society", mapping the rise, consolidation, and gradual eclipse of Nambudiri influence. Urban vulnerabilities surface in "Occupational Stress Level Among Rag Pickers: A Study in Bhubaneswar City, Odisha" by Dr. Anita Pandey and Prof. Chandrashree Lenka, documenting marginal labor conditions, environmental exposure, and psychosocial strain.

Ethnic displacement is addressed by Veeragoni Shirisha in "Ethnic Minorities in South Asia: A Study of the Nepalese Minorities in Bhutan", contextualizing identity crises within broader regional politics of exclusion. Dr. Shruti Dubey, in "Politics of Slumming Indian Cities: From Shahjahanabad to 'Old' Delhi", critiques colonial urban policies that redefined cultural cores as chaotic slums—altering native urbanity through spatial and discursive violence. The religious art of Odisha re-emerges in Dr. Arpita Behera's "Saivite Monument at Baidyanath: A Study on Art and Architecture", focusing on the Kosalesvara Siva temple and its visual narratives within Shaivite devotionalism. Caste exclusion and spiritual inclusion are juxtaposed in Punyashlok Dash's "Meanings and Connotations of the Term 'Patita' in Brahmanical Law Codes and the Bhakti Tradition", interrogating how legal condemnation contrasts with Bhakti's redemptive openness. Feminist resistance in revolutionary history is reclaimed in "Contribution of Pritilata Waddedar to the Indian Struggle for Independence" by Zeenat Mahzabin, celebrating her leadership in the 1932 Pahartali raid and her broader legacy of anti-colonial martyrdom. Ajit Kumar expands the conversation to cultural globalization in "A Vibrant Heritage on a Global Stage: A Study of Madhubani Art in the Era of Globalization", critiquing commodification and appropriation of a deeply rooted folk art form.

In public health history, "The Plague Epidemic in Madras State (1951–1965): Public Health Response and Eradication Strategies" by D. Sharmila and T. Asokan unpacks state strategies, medical ethics, and epidemic narratives in postcolonial India. Flora as metaphor and reality is brought to life by Saradindu Sahu in "Floral Variety of Early Bengal: Gleaning from the Literature (5th–13th Century CE)", revealing environmental and aesthetic sensibilities in classical and medieval texts. Finally, in "A Comprehensive Study of Odisha's Major Buddhist Sites", Himanshu Moreshwar Mahajan, Mitrabhanu Sahu, and Dibishada Brajasundar Garnayak document Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, Lalitgiri, and Langudi, enriching our understanding of Buddhist heritage and architectural transitions in Odisha. Dilip Routrai, Bidhu Bhusan

Mishra, and B.B. Mishra, in "Occupational Stress, Job Satisfaction and Employee Loyalty in Hospitality Industry: A Comparative Analysis of Hotels in Odisha", bring the discussion full circle to labor studies, exploring how workplace dynamics influence employee well-being and loyalty.

The contents of this volume are presented as self-contained scholarly works. The institution and the Editorial Board bear no responsibility for the opinions, perspectives, or arguments articulated within the Journal. The Editorial Board extends its profound gratitude to the distinguished contributors for their erudite and insightful submissions, which have significantly enriched this edition.

Prof. (Mrs.) Jayanti Dora

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CONTENTS

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COLONIAL KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION AND EMPIRE BUILDING IN NORTH-EASTERN FRONTIER OF INDIA

H. Sudhir Kumar Singh
Sylvia Yamben

Abstract

Following the Treaty of Yandaboo (1826), there was a discernible transition in the English East India Company's attitude towards India's north-eastern frontier and more significantly towards the princely state of Manipur. The colonial liberal ideology of 'saving India' and her 'improvement' was used to rationalise and legitimize the rule of the Empire over the north-eastern frontier. This project of civilizing the natives was based on an elaborate method of control based on conciliation, negotiation, differentiation, segregation and not always through violent force and coercive power. The British embarked on an extensive project of documenting the natives based on their hierarchical civilizational order of races and tribes differentiating them through their religion, food habits, places of habitat and whenever required through punitive annual expeditions and negotiations or appeasements to control the frontier.

Key words: North-eastern frontier, ethnography, civilizing mission, colonial knowledge production, liberal ideology.

Introduction

In the north-eastern frontier of India,[1] a discernible transition in the English East India Company's attitude manifested soon after the Company's victory over Burma. The Treaty of Yandaboo,1826 while emphasising 'perpetual peace and friendship' between the Company and the King of Ava, made it incumbent upon Ava to renounce all claims upon and abstain from all future interferences with Assam and its dependencies and also with the contiguous kingdoms of Cachar and Jyntia (Jaintia).[2] According to the Clause 2 of the Yandaboo, the King of Ava recognised Gambhir Singh as the king of Manipur. Manipur was re-established as an independent kingdom to act as a neutral and independent territory between the territories of British India and Burma, and in the event of a war with Burma, would naturally lean on the British.[3] Yandaboo also provided the Company the intervening period to re-organise the eastern frontier to its advantage as the English were cautious against any attempt by the Burmese to avenge their defeat.[4]

Legitimising Imperial Conquest

Following the war with Burma, Assam along with Cachar and Jyntia became part of the Company's territory. Manipur, however, was not annexed. The factors of climate and mosquito-borne diseases that rapidly decimated the troops and the lack of adequate food supply for its soldiers as a consequence of the depopulation of Manipur during the seven years of Burmese devastation of Manipur (1819-1826), however, could not be the only reasons for not annexing Manipur. The Company soldiers were relatively unaccustomed to the geography and environment of the north- eastern frontier[5] but the Burmese defeat in the war (1824) and the treaties with Cachar, Jaintia and the re-establishment of Manipur provided the Company with a much greater control and intervention in this frontier. Most importantly, the

East India Company did not annex Manipur because it did not possess the ideological legitimacy or moral rights. Though the Anglo-Burmese war was between the East India Company and the Burmese, Gambhir Singh's support to the Company and the Manipur Levy under him were pivotal factors for the Company's victory over Burma.

Ideologically, by the 19th century, the East India Company moved away from conquest as a source of imperial legitimacy to imperial rule based on its liberal civilizing moral principles. This transition was marked by the need to legitimise Britain's conquest of India as an ideology which would sustain British rule over India and institutionalise a government that would rule in her interest.[6] The post-1826 liberal ideology of 'saving India' and her 'improvement' was used to rationalise and legitimize the rule of the Empire over the north-eastern frontier. The Liberals, the Utilitarians[7] or the Evangelicals[8], focused on reforming India and improving the most status of her civilization and people. Beginning with William Bentinck, the liberal age of reforms emphasised improving the system of education, codification of laws, and reforms in the social system including the breaking of the bondage of the class of priests over the natives, belief in the individual's character and merit, and not on a hierarchy based on patronage and status. Hence, the liberals sought to do away with the individual and societal dependence on priests, and even feudal aristocrats to transform people into autonomous and rational beings leading a life of conscious deliberation and choice. The liberal ideology and reforms aimed to create the permanence of British rule in India and discover, according to Charles Grant, the biggest Evangelist supporter in England, the general principles to make England's 'connection with that country permanent and as far as indissoluble?'[9]

This project of improving the natives was based on an elaborate method of control based on conciliation, negotiation, differentiation and segregation and not always through violent force and coercive power. Hence, the Company embarked on an extensive project of documenting the natives based on their hierarchical civilizational order of races and tribes differentiating them through their races and tribes, religions, food habits, places of habitat, and establishing territorial administrative zones like the backward areas, excluded and partially excluded areas and whenever required through punitive annual expeditions and negotiations or appeasement of one tribe versus the other to control the frontier.

Colonial Knowledge Production

British annexation of Assam brought the English into direct contact with the frontier and its natives. But, when the British came to the north-eastern frontier, they had the most unsatisfactory and imperfect knowledge about the mountainous terrain, its valleys, its people and their culture, and the passes connecting the frontier. R.B. Pemberton, in fact, admitted that at the commencement of the war with Burma, 'ignorance of the whole frontier became manifest, and it was found that the records of Government furnished no information that could in the slightest degree direct or facilitate the advance of those armies'.[10] This knowledge, as Pemberton emphasised, was indispensable to preserving the integrity of the British dominions. Colonial knowledge production became imperative to preserving the security and safety of the English in the frontier, know the natives, and administer the natives. But at the same time, while colonial ethnography laid the grounds for colonial administration, it also created a

hierarchical social order of the civilized Europeans versus the primitive natives, castes versus tribes or Us versus Them or Them versus the Other.

Colonial ethnographic accounts including Montgomery Martin's *The History, Antiquities, Topography, and Statistics of Eastern India* (1838), Major John Butler's *A Sketch of Assam* (1847) and *Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam during a Residence of Fourteen Years* (1855), Captain T. H. Lewin's *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers Therein* (1869), or even Major General James Johnstone's *My Experiences in Manipur and Naga Hills* (1896) provide glimpses of the colonial assessments of the frontier. These accounts in their own fashions detailed the 'unruly savages' of the Naga Hills or the Abors and the Tikliya Nagas as the 'extremely savage', the Assamese and their 'excessive laziness', 'uncertainty of character', and fondness for the 'pernicious opiate', the Mishmis as extremely 'treacherous and cowardly' whilst simultaneously manifesting the period of political contestations and conflicts in the years preceding the British consolidation.[11]

The British administrator Edward Gait (1906) also followed the colonial ethnographic approach of seeing, identifying and labelling the north-eastern frontier hill tract and its inhabitants as 'barbaric', 'wild', 'savage' or 'fratricidal-patricidal'. His *A History of Assam* is abundant with stories of conspiracies, intrigues, murders of fathers by sons or brothers by brothers or nobles and assassinations and rebellions for the throne of Assam.[12] It informs us that since the death of Chakradhvaj Singh in 1670, within eleven years, Assam had no less than seven kings. Significantly, none of the kings died from natural reasons. This testified to the nature of kingship, polity and the society in this tract, which in colonial historiography had been widely labelled as violent, barbaric and savagery.

Imperial ideology on the north-eastern frontier also emphasised the relationship between the people's physical and moral characteristics and the Brahmaputra valley's climate. According to Gait (1906) even though the soil of the Brahmaputra valley is fertile, but because its climate is damp and relaxing, hence while the people enjoyed great material prosperity, there was a strong innate tendency towards physical and moral deterioration. Alexander Mackenzie's account which was also one of the earliest writings on the north-eastern frontier notes how the Assam valley was besieged 'north, east and south by numerous savage and warlike tribes whom the decaying authority of the Assam dynasty had failed of late years to control' leading the hill tribes to infringe on the plains.[13] In the long run, the valley-based civilization had challenges to defend itself against the incursions of the hardier tribes whose behaviour is described by Gait (1906) as encroach in all directions and would plunder the plains with their constant raids killing men and carrying off women and reducing to a condition bordering on anarchy. Then, following this raid, some hill chiefs or a confederacy of kindred tribes consolidated the rule taking advantage of the fertile resources of the Brahmaputra valley. This was the trend of the kingdom in Assam and it was only the intervention of the British which prevented the Ahoms from being 'blotted out by fresh hordes of invaders, first the Burmese, then the Singphos, the Khamtis, the Daflas, the Abors and the Bhutias.'[14]

Captain Stewart, Superintendent of Cachar, in the context of the status of the Political Agency in Manipur, observed that in the absence of the English Political Agent, lawlessness

prevailed throughout the Manipur kingdom as the wild and savage hill tribes surrounding the Manipur valley were up in arms while the factional politics against the rule.[15] Commissioner Ward, according to Robert Reid (1989), justified the British annexation of Manipur.

This ideology of labelling the inhabitants of the frontier as wild and uncouth reflected the tendency of stereotypical historical subjectivity in colonial writings. Colonial historiography over-emphasised the violence and barbarism of the frontier people. Alexander Mackenzie, writing in the context of Manipur, commented on the extreme barbarity marked by constant raids of the Manipuris into Burma and of the Burmese into Manipur and of the most savage and revolting internal wars for the throne. Yet, at the same time, colonial archive wilfully ignored the extreme force or violence perpetuated by the English over the natives.

The history of the Anglo-Naga relationship beginning in 1832 when Francis Jenkins and Pemberton first entered the Naga Hills along with 700 Manipuri troops and 800 coolies from the Manipur valley,[16] is also based on perpetual conflict of violence based on raids, counter-raids, punishing raids, and military expeditions. From hence up to the late 19th Century, around 1875, the Wokha sub-division was established, the English-Naga relationship was marked by multiple conflicts over a protracted period of time. In this, the British also equally suffered humiliating defeats and multiple losses of lives including Lieutenant Holcombe who, along with his 80 followers were killed in February 1875, multiple attacks on Captain Butler and Mr. Carnegy, and Mr. Damant's death at Khonoma in 1780. But, in this narrative on the Anglo-Naga relationship, the valiant attempt of the tribes to defend their homes and people was lost to the larger vision of the liberal civilizing mission and the satisfaction that the Nagas had gradually begun to learn their lesson. B.C. Allen affirms that, under Mr. McCabe, the district had been reduced to 'peace and order'. Thus, colonial policies, even though extremely violent and repressive, were legitimised in the belief that imperial attitude and policies towards the savages, who needed to be saved, improved and civilised were both fair and liberal.

It was all this account of the barbaric savages that legitimised the English conquest of the north-eastern frontier. The Burmese invasion of Assam and Bengal also provided the background for the so-called British 'intervention'. Even the use of the word intervention and not conquest for colonial expansion in the frontier has a more positive benevolent implication than terms like invasion or raids, which otherwise were used to refer to the political struggles between the warring tribes of the region. The coming of the British in the region following the devastations caused by the Burmese, in fact, has been celebrated:

Rapine and pillage were put a stop to, and no punishment was inflicted without a cause. Officers were again appointed to govern the country; a settled administration was established, and regular taxation replaced unlimited extortion. The sands, however, had run out, and the Burmese were now to pay for their past oppression of the hapless Assamese…[17]

Gait justifies the British intervention on the ground that 'it would not be right to withdraw the British troops altogether as this would be certain to lead to a revival of internecine disturbances which had previously brought the country to the verge of ruin'.[18] Thus, beginning with Purander Singh's government, the practice of installing a native ruler in one part of the

province and in the other for the maintenance of the British garrison was started. The annexation of the Angami was done so in a benevolent language as 'to reclaim its inhabitants from savagery'. In the case of Manipur, this same ideology of protecting the valley from the refractory tribes, and then post-1891, the hill tribes from the Manipuri king became implicit in the ideology of colonial administration.

It was this benevolence which differentiated the British colonial State from the erstwhile period of rule under the native rulers. It was argued that the colonial State brought peace and stability in terms of law and order through a system of land revenue, development of transport and communication and public welfare. This benevolence legitimised the intervention of the British in the affairs of the Ahom kingdom, Manipur, and overall in the north-eastern frontier. However, it was not the British civilizing claims that alone guided their intervention. The British were motivated most importantly by their need to secure the political and commercial interest of the frontier, not only against Burma but also within the frontier. This is seen from the fact that in Manipur. It was only following the 1891 war that policies including the abolition of slavery, lallup[19] and reforms in land revenue and legal administration and other policies for improving the races and tribes were introduced. Though the British had been in Manipur since 1826, why is it that it was only in 1892 that the government and reforms segregating the people of the native kingdom into the inhabitants of the valley and the hill tribes introduced? This is because up to 1891, Manipur had been one of the most allies of the British Empire in the northeastern frontier. The 1891 war made it imperative to ensure the permanence of the Empire in India. It was necessary to break all forms of unity amongst the natives that encouraged resistance against the British.

The Efficient Administration of the Frontier

Colonial knowledge production was integral to enabling the efficient administration of the frontier. With this objective of consolidation, C.A. Elliot, the Chief Commissioner of Assam in 1881, encouraged the colonial administrators to use the tools and methods of Anthropology to know the tribes and sub-tribes inhabiting the frontier. The Assam Chief Commissioner, Sir Bampfylde Fuller (1903) proposed for documentation of the important tribes and castes of the province through a series of monographs in uniform format with prescribed limitations following the structures of the Notes and Queries on Anthropology: For the Use of Travellers and Residents in Uncivilized Lands (1874) published by the British Association for the Advancement of Science and approved by the Government of India.

These monographs as noted by Major P.R.T Gurdon (1907) were to be documented or undertaken only by those who had 'special and intimate experiences of the races to be described' and were to incorporate the accounts of earlier writers and observers.[20] Additionally, these official monographs beginning with Major P.R.T. Gurdon (*The Khasis*, 1907), Sir Charles Lyall (*The Mikirs*, 1908), T.C Hodson (*The Meitheis*, 1908; *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, 1911), Rev. Sidney Endle (*The Kacharis*, 1911), J.H. Hutton (*The Sema Nagas*,1921), J.P. Mills (*The Ao Nagas*, 1926), N.E. Parry (*The Lakhers*, 1932) and supplemented by census reports, linguistic surveys, missionaries, and travellers' accounts of the frontier castes, tribes

and the sub-tribes provided a more structured literature on the frontier and its people, although with a biased approach.

In his ethnographical account, *The Sema Nagas* (1921), J.H. Hutton emphasised that the knowledge production, in this case, was beneficial to science and for 'responsible officialdom'. This is because; a just enlightened administration of the natives could not be established without 'an intimate knowledge and sympathetic interest in the natives themselves, their customs and their point of view'.[21] Differentiating the tribes as the unrisen races different from the civilised races, Hutton holds the absence of ethnographical knowledge responsible for 'the misunderstandings and fatal errors' which tarnished the Empire's meaningful endeavours that aimed to wisely and equitably control the affairs of those races and tribes such as those of the north-eastern frontier who were different from the civilised races. Though these ethnographic accounts of the academic consolidating phase were based on field studies and observations, however in reality, knowing the people and the land became an administrative necessity.

Colonial knowledge production, therefore, reflected the shifts in the political developments of the frontier. While colonial accounts were more scornful in the early phase, after the Empire's consolidation over the frontier, there was a noticeable shift in imperial attitudes. Assessments of the colonial writers like J.H Hutton and J.P. Mills of the hill tribes underwent some revisions. Mill notes the Ao's open-heartedness, honesty, and a good sense of humour, though with few habitual criminals, and even concludes that 'to like the Ao one must know him long and well'. It is observed that if the tribe or group cooperated in British commercial activities, such groups were considered 'relatively more cultured' compared to those that resisted colonial rule and were labelled as warlike, treacherous or barbarous.[22]

For Moral Improvement

This extensive knowledge production process legitimised colonial rule as beneficial not only for civilising the natives but also for creating their self-image of enlightened modern civilization. Colonial archive was thus filled with accounts of the practices of Assam's savage neighbours. Simultaneously, western ideas and standards of civilization, progress, growth, and culture became benchmarks for transforming the perception of the tribes of northeast India. According to Gait, the tribe was re-ordered to reflect these ideas of western progress such as, '…and in the quite submission of the Nagas to British rule, blood feuds and head hunting now survive only in the memory of the old generation which is rapidly passing away…'.[23] It is also this perception that created enduring differences between the inhabitants of the plains and the hills and identified with savage practices of headhunting, kidnapping, slave-driving, raids and others.

Colonial ethnography, therefore, at once differentiated the Indians and the Europeans into polar categories of civilised versus uncivilised, inferior versus superior, primitive versus modern. It is also through their studies influenced by the ideas of enlightenment, rationalism and secularism that the other was created. In this natural science, religion, culture, society,

food, dress, environment, and colour transformed into hierarchies measuring civilisation progress and modernity. The nature of the relationship as well as theories of culture and race determines the hierarchical reordering of the inhabitants. Hence, the relatively cultured princely states emerged as supporters of the Raj, and it was with their help that the frontier and the hill tribes were controlled.[24]

The north-eastern frontier provided the most appropriate landscape for legitimizing the claims of the British's civilizing mission as its inhabitants constituted the most primitive societies on the 'scale of civilization'. The racial and environmental factors prevailing in the frontier sustained the liberal idealism of civilizing the hill natives distinguishing and differentiating them from the Hindu-worshipping plainsmen. In the name of separating and protecting the hill tribes from the civilised Hindus, the colonial state aimed to reform and civilise the savage hillmen. However, implicit in this improvement was the fact that civilizing the tribes would enable the English to consolidate their authority over the frontier. This is supported by the fact that the emphasis on the moral improvement of the tribes gained significance only after the 1891 war and not from 1826 onwards in Manipur.

The hill tribes manifested the Liberal ideology of reforming India. Colonial ideology hinges on the lack of state initiative to civilise the hill tribes. The colonial administrators believed that a system of lawlessness prevailed within the kingdom as the hill tribal raids have rarely been punished.[25] However, under the civilised English, with their government based on the rule of just law, it became necessary not only to protect the hill tribes but also to improve their morals. It was also this need to safeguard the hill tribes that also gave the English the moral legitimacy to administer the kingdom into the 'valley under the king' and 'the hill tribes of the kingdom'[26] under the colonial administration.

The colonial administrators believed that in the early years, while it may be obligatory to increase the police force in the hills, with the establishment of a just government based on the rule of law and good government, the tribes would settle down to trade and adopt other more peaceful activities. Subsequently, these developments, along with time and the opening of road connectivity and schools in the hills, led to the moral improvement of the hill tribes.[27] The tribes would then eventually give up their habits, particularly their raids; they would be motivated to cease to cause trouble; only then would it be practicable to reduce the number of police forces on the hill.

Schools and road connection became imperative tools for reforming the tribes. The arrival of the Christian missionaries, particularly William Pettigrew was instrumental in reforming the people's behaviours in Manipur. Incidentally, under the patronage of the acting Political Agent A. Porteous, Pettigrew had established a school for boys at Imphal in February 1894. However, considering the socio-political, religious environment of the Manipur valley that was largely based upon the philosophy of Hindu Vaishnavism, Pettigrew was advised to work amongst the Tangkhuls who lived in the hills to the east of the valley (Ukhrul). Thus, by 1895, Pettigrew moved to reside among the Tangkhuls, and according to Maxwell, since Pettigrew was knowledgeable of the Manipuri language, which nearly all Tangkhuls speak, he should get on well with them.[28] It was under the missionary's initiative that by 1897, a Middle English School was established in Ukhrul. By 1903, 57 boys had enrolled in the school.

Conclusion

The British Empire's conquest was legitmised not only in terms of the 'right of conquest' but, as Thomas Metcalf notes, as a higher calling of civilizing the other, or charged with the governance of others, which began in the 16th Century under the Tudor. It provided social knowledge and legal justification that helped sustain imperial domination over its colonies. Such attitudes or principles were, however, not defined or static, but were determined by the Empire's demands and accordingly revised or modified. Colonial writings and other accounts were thus motivated by ideologies of imperialism and labels like savage, wild, barbaric, dirty, unkept, treacherous, and revengeful changed according to the position and strategic location of the tribe in the colonial gaze.

Colonial knowledge production, therefore, became imperative to preserving the security and safety of the English in the frontier and to know the natives and administer the natives. Colonial ethnography hence laid the grounds for colonial administration and for creating a hierarchical social order of the civilized Europeans versus the primitive natives, castes versus tribes or Us versus Them or Them versus the other. It provided the basis for Bernard Cohn's (1996) 'objectification': coding of the natives in ways, form and meanings which made it increasingly available and ready for colonisation. In the north eastern frontier, the documentation project made the frontier ready for colonisation.

References:

1   The term northeast frontier was used by Alexander Mackenzie to denote a boundary line or to describe a tract embracing the hill ranges north, east and south of the Assam Valley and the western slopes of the mountain system lying between Bengal and Burma along with its outlying spurs and ridges. See, Alexander Mackenzie, *History of the Relations of the Government with the Hill Tribes of the North-East Frontier of Bengal*. Home Department Press, Calcutta, 1884, p.1.

2   See, C.U. Aitchison. *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements, And Sanads*, Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries,Vol. 1., Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, Calcutta, 1892, p. 354.

3   See, W. McCulloch., *Account of the Valley of Munnipore and of The Hill Tribes; with a Comparative Vocabulary of the Munnipore and Other Languages*, Bengal Printing Company Limited, Calcutta, 1859, p. 16.

4   It was not until the third Anglo-Burmese war in 1885-1886 that Burma was annexed into the British Empire.

5   According to Nandalal Chatterji, "The knowledge of the terrain was imperfect. The supply arrangements were faulty. Troops were inadequate. Transport was inefficient. The rains made the conditions difficult for the British troops. Coolies were not easily available. The hill-tribes gave little or no aid, and there was a shortage of irregulars and scouts. Road-building was impossible within a short time. Sickness was much too common, and a large number of men had to be sent to hospital, if not to the grave.   It was throughout a big problem to feed the invalids. When all is said, the fact remains that the management of the operations was

unsatisfactory throughout. It was only the inability of the Burmese to prosecute the war further after initial successes that saved Bengal from a serious invasion." See, his 'The Out-Break of The First Anglo-Burmese War', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol. 19 (1956), pp. 340-341.

6   See Thomas R. Metcalf., *Ideologies of the Raj,* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, New York,1995.

7   Utilitarianism, or the 'greatest happiness principle', is an ethical, moral theory that judges a person's action in terms of the standard of its utility. Jeremy Bentham is regarded as the father of Utilitarianism, and Bentham used the word Utilitarian for the first time in 1781 and 1801. In 'An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislations' Bentham defined utility as "that property in any object whereby it tends to produce benefit, advantage, pleasure, good, happiness (all this in the present case comes to the same thing) or (what comes again to the same thing) to prevent the happening of mischief, pain, evil, or unhappiness to the party whose interest is considered; if that party be the community in general, then the happiness of the community; if a particular individual, then the happiness of that individual". Governments must, therefore, conform to what Bentham notes should be dictated by the principle of utility when its decision to augment the happiness of the community is greater than any which it had to diminish. For further details see, Eric Stokes. *The English Utilitarians and India*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959.

8   The religious belief in Christ and the proselytizing spirit of Christianity guided the ideology of the Evangelists. Looking at India, the Evangelists were convinced of the barbarism. They saw the civilizing claim of British rule as the means to change the intrinsic nature of India. William Wilberforce described the Hindu gods as "absolute monsters of lust, injustice, wickedness and cruelty. In short, their religious system is one grand abomination." Evangelicalism in this context shared many traits of the Liberal-Utilitarians:

the idea of free trade and the spread of Western education, and were equally critical of both the Indian social system and the Hindu religion and hence advocated for reforming the Indian society by introducing opportunities for good government, and Christianity. Eric Stokes, *Ibid*

9   Francis, G. Hutchins., *The Illusion of Permanence: British Imperialism in India*, Princeton University Press: Princeton,1967, p. 5.

10   Robert B. Pemberton., *Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India with an appendix and Maps*, 1835, Mittal Publications: New Delhi.2018 Reproduced, p. 2.

11   Jelle J.P Wouters., Reconfiguring Colonial Ethnography: The British Gaze over India's North-East, in T.B. Subba (ed.), *North-East India: A Handbook of Anthropology*, Orient BlackSwan, 2012, pp. 99-121.

12   See Edward Gait, *A History of Assam*, 1906, EBH Publishers India, Guwahati, 2019 Reprint.

13   Mackenzie, op. cit., p.7.

14   Gait, *op. cit*., p. 8.

15   Mackenzie. *op. cit.,* p. 158.

16   To facilitate direct communication between Assam and Manipur, Captain Jenkins and Pemberton, along with 700 Manipuri troops and 800 coolies from the Manipur valley via Popolongmai,

Samoogoodting, Dhunsiri to Mohung Dijooa and Jumoona entered the Naga Hills around January 1832. See, Mackenzie, *op. cit*., p. 101.

17 Gait, *op. cit*., p. 238.

18 Gait, *op. cit*., p. 348.

19 Lallup (lal-war, lup-organisation) was a military system where every adult male from 17- 60 years rendered compulsorily to the state for 10 days of military service over 40 days in war time and service for public work.

20 Major P. R. T Gurdon, *The Khasis*, David Nutt, London, 1907, p.xv.

21 J.H. Hutton., *The Sema Nagas*. Macmillan and Co., Limited: London, 1921, p. xv.

22 Wouters, *op. cit*.,p. 101.

23 Gait, *op. cit*., p. 368.

24 Mackenzie, *op. cit*.,

25 External- A, Pros. July 1892, Nos. 240-244, Foreign Department, Government of India, National Archives of India (NAI), New Delhi.

26 Colonial archives referred to the hill tribes of Manipur as 'hill tribes dependent on the Manipur kingdom'. The relationship between the Meitei king and the hill tribes, however, cannot be seen only from this perspective of dependency. State formation in Manipur was inclusive within the kingdom and within the clans and tribes, in nature. While sharing allegiance to the Meitei king, were governed by their respective customary laws and norms.

27 Maxwell, in his letter to The Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam dated 31st October, 1891, also believed that under the English government, the lall up system of Manipur is bound to perish under a fair rule. Additionally, Maxwell wrote that as it has been the country's custom for many generations, only recommend its entire abolition once road communications are improved. When the State intersects with cart roads, the system should be abolished; in the meantime, it will be kept in a condition which will alleviate the poor, who are the chief sufferers. This belief of Maxwell that lallup should continue till road communications are improved, however contradicts the English sense of fair rule. In his letter to the Chief Commissioner Assam dated 26th March 1892, the Deputy Secretary to the Government of lallup also responded, "The Government of India desire that lallup should be abolished as soon as circumstances permit of this reform. While forced labour continues to be demanded, care must be taken that the people are not obliged to render it at any great distance from their homes." See External- A,Pros. July 1892, Nos. 240-244, *op. cit*.,

28 Diary of Lieutenant-Colonel H. St. P. Maxwell, No. 41 of 1895, Manipur State Archives (MSA), Imphal, Manipur.

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CONFLICT AND COLLABORATION IN RURAL AWADH DURING THE MEDIEVAL INDIA: A STUDY OF POWER BASE OF AWADH RAJPUTS (16TH-18TH CENTURY)

Dr. Maroof Ahmad

Abstract

The rajput has been a fancy term with regard to the research mainly from the point of view of rajputs of Rajputana (modern day Rajasthan). It is true that rajputs in this region enjoyed greater privileges and power from the ruling class at the Centre in lieu of their loyalty and submission towards the central authority. In this euphoria majority of research works generally excluded the rajputs of India other than Rajputana from their studies. One such region inhabited with large number of rajputs known as Awadh or Oudh (in modern day Uttar Pradesh) provided a good deal of history of rajputs living in this region. The paper is not meant to encompass all aspects of Awadh Rajputs or to focus on single Rajput caste of Awadh but to give a holistic approach to understand the power base of Awadh Rajputs between the three centuries. It shows how they were living under the mighty rule of Mughals and later under nawabi rule. The three centuries period has been taken into account to understand their position in different phases and under different rulers. The study would help the scholars to bring more such researches on less known rajputs of India and how they were dealing with the ruling class for their survival in contrast with the rajputs of Rajputana. The power base including kinship ties, social structure, armed retainers, forts, etc would certainly play a deciding factor. The study would also focus to understand why all rajputs could not enjoy the same position like other. The period of transformation when Mughals empire was getting challenges from every corner also played a crucial role to understand the position of Awadh rajputs.

Key words: Awadh, Rajputs, Bais, Kanhpuria, Mughal, Nawab, Garhi

Introduction

The Rajput community in India has long been revered as a stalwart warrior class, with its epicenter traditionally situated in Rajasthan, known as Rajputana during medieval Indian history. This region has been a focal point for scholars, yielding substantial research. While existing historical literature predominantly centers on Rajputana, attempts to incorporate Rajputs from other regions have been somewhat limited in scope.

Indeed, literature concerning Rajputs outside Rajputana is not abundant. However, a thorough examination of diverse sources, including court chronicles, local histories, British reports, and gazetteers, reveals a wealth of information. Modern historians have often approached these sources with a focus on illustrating the dominance of central authorities and their suppression of Rajputs, rather than exploring the broader social structure and power dynamics of Rajputs beyond Rajputana.

The present study diverges from this narrative, eschewing a sole focus on military conflicts between the Rajputs of Awadh and imperial authorities. Instead, it seeks to elucidate their evolving position under various rulers over three centuries, notably during Mughal and Nawabi rule. This research aims to fill the gap in scholarly understanding by examining lesser-known Rajput communities during the medieval period and elucidating their intricate relationships with ruling powers for survival.

Key areas of investigation include the power bases of Awadh Rajputs, encompassing kinship ties, social structures, armed retainers, and fortifications. These factors were pivotal in shaping their status and influence. Furthermore, the study will explore disparities in privilege and power among Rajputs, offering insights into the complexities of social hierarchy within the community.

The study contextualizes the Awadh Rajputs within the broader framework of the Mughal Empire's decline and the subsequent emergence of Nawabi rule. By scrutinizing periods of collaboration and conflict with state authorities, it aims to unravel the nuanced power dynamics at play.

In summary, this research endeavors to enrich our understanding of Rajput history by spotlighting the often-overlooked Awadh region. Through a meticulous analysis of diverse sources and a nuanced exploration of power dynamics, it seeks to paint a comprehensive portrait of the Awadh Rajputs' journey through the medieval era.

Theories

The Rajputs of Awadh were known for their turbulent character. They were adept at regaining their power and lost lands whenever the opportunity arose, effectively reestablishing themselves.[1] The success of local zamindars can be attributed to several factors. As Dirk Kolff has noted, state authorities faced significant challenges in controlling the large peasant populations led by zamindar leaders who were strongly connected through kinship ties. Additionally, some areas were almost intractable, protected by mud forts, jungles, ravines, and the weapons with which the zamindars were very familiar..[2]

John Pemble has provided insightful accounts of these local groups, detailing how they monopolized control over land in specific territories based on local political and demographic conditions. Social mobility among these settled groups, exemplified by the Bachgoti Rajputs, who claimed membership of recognized Rajput clans and adopted titles like Rajkumars (prince), Rajwar (monarch), and Khanzada (nobly born, applied to Muslim converts), played a crucial role in elevating their status.[3]

The process of colonisation by a particular clan or caste group in different regions, coupled with their strategy of monopolising resources, often leads to the dominance of a single caste in that specific area. Indeed, within the same caste group, domination can vary significantly among different lineages tracing their descent from the same hero or leader. While one caste may be dominant under a specific lineage and branch in a particular area, another caste with a different lineage and branch may not necessarily hold the same dominance in its respective territory, even if it traces its descent from the same leader referred as 'lineage

elite'. This concept, as Fox terms it, highlights the complexities of caste dynamics, where dominance is not solely determined by shared ancestry but also by other socio-political factors.[4]

The theory posits that domination or power is primarily determined by the personal military strength of a leader and the prevailing political conditions of a particular area. This perspective aligns with the historical reality of the military prowess wielded by the Awadh Rajputs during the zenith of Mughal power. This aspect has been further elaborated upon in other sections of the paper.

In Awadh, there is ample evidence to indicate that numerous caste groups coexisted within the same geographical area. For example, the Ain-i Akbari documents the presence of various castes residing together in the same mahal. However, despite this cohabitation, not all castes including the rajputs were able to achieve equal status due to a multitude of factors including political, military, and local circumstances.

Numerous studies have been conducted to comprehend the concept of the dominant caste. MN Srinivasan termed the castes that enjoyed dominance in a particular area as 'Dominant Caste'. In his words, 'A caste may be said to be Dominant' when it preponderates numerically over the other castes, and when it also wields preponderates economic and political power. A large and powerful caste group can be more easily dominant if its position in the local caste hierarchy is not too low.'[5]

Before M.N. Srinivas, Devabrata Bose also contributed to the understanding of the dominant caste. She elucidates 'Hindu caste society has shown that there is domination by the clean caste as a whole against the untouchables and that amongst the clean caste there are certain families belonging to one or more castes who are rated by local society as higher than the others. These groups have been termed as 'dominant'. The use of the term 'dominant caste' does not imply that every member belonging to that local caste is equally powerful in a secular sense.[6] Other studies, such as F.J. Mayer's research on a Central Indian village, illustrate how a poor Rajput, despite having higher caste status, could not wield as much power as his wealthier counterparts of the same caste.[7] This highlights that the concept of dominance is not uniform and can vary significantly from place to place. For example, Rajputs might dominate in one region, Jats in another, and Brahmanas in a third.

In light of this background, it can be asserted that power, rather than solely social status, played a crucial role in determining the position of local potentates. Within the scope of this study, we can analyze the case of Awadh to understand how some Rajputs, by acquiring wealth and armed power, became more powerful than others. The power base of Awadh Rajputs reflects the concept of the 'dominant caste' in this context. Every Rajput caste was striving to secure its position as a powerful local group, with some Rajput castes successfully upgrading their status in the process. It would be interesting to identify the factors behind the domination of Awadh Rajputs.

The paper is exploring the important reasons which determined the strength and power of Awadh rajputs over the large number of peasants or their followers and also against the State appointed revenue authorities particularly from the later years of Mughal rule.

Kinship Ties

The entire social structure of the Rajput clans in Awadh was deeply rooted in kinship ties. The Raja, or as Fox termed them, the 'lineage-elite,' was seen as the protector of the whole clan. The strength of the Rajputs against their enemies was largely dependent on the nature of these kin ties. As Fox notes, the 'lineage elite' transmitted its values, decrees, military call-ups, and political duties to a body of subordinate kinsmen. Despite sometimes being superior in power or status, these subordinate kinsmen were bound to the elite by kinship obligations and etiquette.[8] The Rajputs understood well the importance of kinship ties and their vital role in interactions with other caste groups and revenue authorities. Breaking these kinship ties would lead to the collapse of the entire clan's strength.

The class of zamindars is generally known for its opportunistic and exploitative nature. Their association with land, along with their knowledge of local traditions, customs, and productivity, gave them an advantage over others. They exploited the peasantry to the fullest by imposing extra taxes beyond the state's demands. Despite this exploitative behavior, the peasantry often sided with the zamindars in the face of external threats or attempts at usurpation. This support from the peasantry explains why zamindars were able to emerge successfully and challenge the state at various levels whenever opportunities arose.

Under the vigorous rule of Emperor Akbar, most of the zamindars were kept under control and closely tied to the land. However, later conditions led to disturbances in the territories of the zamindars. When the Maratha wars distracted the Mughal forces and the province of Awadh was no longer firmly under Mughal control, the clan system reasserted itself and consolidated under a single umbrella. The Rajput clans united both for conquest and defense, adapting to the changing political landscape. To quote Benett, "When the flame of war broke out they united themselves under the banner of a leading Raja, who again exercised the Royal authority which had fallen into abeyance. In his mud fort surrounded by the mud hovels of his servants and the few handicraftsmen needful for the ordinary wants of himself and his household, he received in council the heads of the infeudated families, or held a court of justice to dispose of the principal disputes of his subjects." [9]

To analyze the power of these Rajput landholders, it is essential to understand their relationship with the common peasantry. It was a common practice among zamindars to recruit retainers from their own caste. Seventeenth-century writers used the word ulus, a term originating from the Mongols, for whom tribes and military contingents were not separate entities. This tradition was not unique to Awadh; it was also found among the Kachhwahas, Rathors, Gonds, Baluch, and others.[10] The ulus played a prominent role in defining the loyalty of retainers towards the zamindar, thereby reinforcing their power and influence.

Throughout the period from the sixteenth century to 1857, there were numerous instances where armed retainers remained steadfastly loyal to their lords during external attacks. Colonel Sleeman, during his travels in Awadh in the early nineteenth century, noted this relationship in his account, he writes based on the information provided by one of the powerful Rajput zamindars of Awadh: Raja Beni Madhav "I asked Beni Madhav (whose tenants they were, whether they would all have to follow his fortune if he happened to take up

arms against the government." 'Assuredly,' said he, 'they would all be bound in honour to follow me, or to desert their lands at least.'[11] Similar reference can be traced from Benett's account, he says, "When the Raja went to war he was followed by an enthusiastic army attached to himself and to each other by the closest ties of common origin and common interests. Within his raj he exercised every degree of authority from the absolute proprietorship of his private villages to the receipt of a feudal allegiance from the great zemindars; and isolated in the midst, stood the large Muhammadan towns where the kazi still dispensed the Kuran, and the Kotwal preserved order and collected a few unimportant transit dues."[12]

This suggests the strong kinship ties that bound the peasantry to their leaders in times of conflict with outsiders. Ironically, despite often being poorly treated by the Raja, these peasants remained loyal. Colonel Sleeman pointed out that if a retainer was killed fighting for the king, the family would receive little support, being left on their own with only two months' salary of the deceased.[13] Though it cannot be said with authority if the practice was prevalent during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The association between the Rajputs and their brethren played a crucial role in dealing with any external threat. This strong kinship bond was a fundamental reason for the survival of these Rajput lords under different regimes.

The Proprietary Rights or the Derivation of Land Rights

The proprietary rights outlined by Baden Powell shed light on how local groups acquired rights at different stages. Individuals could obtain rights through grants or as revenue farmers, allowing them to establish villages in previously unused areas. Additionally, rights could be acquired through the dismemberment of ruling chief houses. In this scenario, a powerful family with its raja would be fragmented into different houses due to more potent invasions, such as those of the Mughals and Marathas. They would then be reduced to mere land revenue agents and local lords, having previously held ruling status. As a result, these villages remained interconnected through their shared history. [14]

This explains the case of fragmentation and consolidation among different rajput clans in Awadh region during the changing position of central authority and their power equilibrium.

The ownership aspect has also been addressed by Benett, who mentions two direct acts of ownership exercised by the raja over the land. Firstly, in every Rajput clan, internal differentiation occurred, leading to various branches of a single family spreading to different localities. This necessitated the incorporation of new villages. When the fort became overcrowded, some families were assigned new lands to settle, thereby increasing the holdings and power of the raja against any external threat.[15]

Marriage Alliance

The incorporation of new people through marriage alliances led their dominance in other parts also.[16]

Religious Legitimacy

To sought religious legitimacy and secure the services of influential priest, the local landholders provided small uncultivated land, pension to the Brahmanas.[17]

Earning

The settlement of new groups on uncultivated land can also be viewed as a means of increasing the earnings of Rajput landholders. The newly settled population was required to pay tribute to the local Raja. This tribute was so consistent that even during conflicts with central authorities, it continued unabated, whether the Raja was ruling 'despotically' from his fort or hiding as a rebel in the jungles.[18]

It was a fact that the local nazim or amil under the Nawabs were powerful enough to defeat local potentates. However, the state was more interested in the collection of revenue than in permanently suppressing these local landlords. The balance of power between the parties played a crucial role in maintaining control over a particular area. Meanwhile, the Rajputs were keen not to lose their followers, which was essential for their own power and influence.[19]

As previously discussed, the ryots and other followers did not abandon their masters despite being exploited in terms of revenue. They held the belief that they would suffer more if replaced by an outsider. As long as the Rajputs remained united, the officials could not do much against them. In areas where these landlords were powerful, the state officials, such as nazims and chakladars, could only manage to deal with them by exploiting their internal disputes.[20]

Armed Power:

The real strength of zamindars lay in the number of armed men each zamindar possessed. From the descriptions in the Ain-i Akbari, we find that local zamindars maintained a very large number of retainers. The contingents of the zamindars of Awadh primarily included infantry and cavalry. Since most of the foot soldiers were drawn from the peasantry, zamindars never fell short of foot soldiers. The following table, prepared based on the Ain-i Akbari, shows the number of retainers held by the Rajput zamindars in the suba of Awadh:

Table

Armed Power of Awadh Rajput Zamindars

Sarkar	Mahals	Infantry	Cavalry	Caste
Awadh	Pachhimrath	20	500	Bachhal, Gehlot
	Basawa (brick fort)	30	1000	Bachhal
	Basara	……..	200	Bachhal

Bilhere, brick fort	50	2000	Bachgoti
Basodhi	20	500	Bachgoti
Thamali Bhadon	……..	1000	Bachgoti
Bakhta	……..	500	Bachgoti
Satanpur, brick fort	300	4000	Bachgoti
Sultanpur, brick fort	200	7000	Bachgoti
Sarwapali	……..	1000	Bachgoti

Khairabad Khairigarh, one of the most important fortresses in Hindustan. There are 6 forts of brick and mortar at a short distance from it 300 1500 Bais, Bisen, Bachhal, Kahnah

Machharhatta	30	2000	Bachhal
Sadrpur	20	500	Janwar, Bachhal
Kheri, brick fort	60	1500	Bisen, Janwar

Lucknow

Sandilah (brick fort)	100	5000	Gehlot Bachhal
Bangarmau	……..	2000	Gehlot
Isauli, brick fort	50	2000	Bachgoti
Kakori, brick fort	30	500	Bisen

Gorakhpur

Unhaula	……..	400	Bisen
Bhawaparah	……..	200	Bisen
Daryaparh	60	400	Bisen
Rihli (or Rudauli)	……..	1000	Bisen
Rahlaparh, brick fort	20	800	Bisen
Mahauli, brick fort	……..	2000	Bisen
Maghar & Ratanpur, brick fort		2000	Bais, Bisen

Bahraich Husampur, brick fort 70 900 Raikwar, Bisen

The table shows that the Rajputs alone retained more than forty thousand infantry and over thirteen hundred cavalry in the Suba of Awadh. However, the ratio of cavalrymen to foot soldiers is very low. Additionally, the breed of horses used by the Rajput cavalry cannot be compared with the superior imperial horses.[21] Nevertheless, with this number of contingents, the zamindars of Awadh had the potential to stand against the imperial forces, even if they could not defeat them.

The number of armed forces retained by the Awadh Rajputs was not initially intended to challenge the state. If we go through the sources, the state even recognised these contingents. The local zamindars were responsible to provide their men for the state services whenever needed. When Abul Fazl mentions the number of armed forces across twelve Mughal Subas, it amounts to 342,696 horsemen and 4,039,097 foot soldiers..[22] This figure in the words of Kolff is 'not an army list, but an inventory, a census of military labour market', which were produced by the innumerable local zamindars of the empire as their retainers.[23] William Irvine also gives a similar description about the figure of Ain, he says 'The figures include all the militia levies and zamindar's retainers throughout the provinces.'[24]

Garhi

Garhis served as a significant source of power at the local level, and nearly all dominant zamindars in the area built garhis for their residence and defense. Scholars have provided varying interpretations of garhis, with some describing them as small forts or castles. The construction of forts during the medieval period was primarily for defense, although they served multiple functions, including acting as fortresses, palaces, and even prisons.

During the Mughal period, references to garhis are found in historical accounts such as the Akbarnama and Maasir-ul Umara.[25] These structures were crucial for defense and were often used by local zamindars to protect themselves and their retainers during times of invasion. Garhis were strategically located in areas surrounded by dense forests, and where natural defenses were lacking, zamindars took alternative measures to protect their garhis.[26]

By the seventeenth century, zamindars were constructing garhis in their villages to station their retainers. In the words of Baden Powell, 'the village headman occupies the central building sometimes it is known as garhi." He further explains, "It was large enough to accommodate his whole family and dependents. To defend his village from enemies the village headman made his house a veritable fort."[27]

The importance of garhis should be seen in a particular time and space. We see that by the time of seventeenth century the zamindars in their villages were constructing their garhis to station their retainers.   The construction of such garhis was common and even the authorities considered it as the legitimate right of zamindars to raise their garhi. The construction of these garhis became problematic for the state when these garhis were used not for stationing their men and for maintaining their rights over peasants but for defying the state authorities.[28]

This practice became more prevalent in the eighteenth century, a period marked by political instability. Garhis were constructed by local powerful groups, often led by dominant zamindars who referred to themselves as "Rajas." These garhis served as centers of social activity, where courts were held, and various cultural activities took place, often compared with the royal courts of Delhi by these Rajput leaders.[29]

The importance of garhis grew when the state was getting weakened, challenging the notion of continuity after the fall of the Mughal Empire. Despite compromises made by the state with local groups, regional states proved inefficient in dealing with these local challenges during the eighteenth century. In the case of Awadh, the first nawab Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-

Mulk successfully tried to persuade the local groups especially the rajput zamindars and realised the revenue from them. However, the succeeding nawabs could maintain the same control.

Incorporation of other castes:

Another aspect that helps us understand their power base is the incorporation of many other castes into the fold of Kshatriya status. During the sixteenth century, under the leadership of Tilokchand, a Bais Rajput, various groups such as the Ahir Bhale Sultan, Kahar, Mahror, and Pargahis were integrated into the Kshatriya fold. Similarly, numerous castes in Faizabad and Gonda, including the Gundhuri, Naipuria, Barwars, and Chahus, assumed the title of Bais Rajput.[30] However, these newly incorporated castes were never treated on par with the other established Rajput clans of Awadh. Nevertheless, this incorporation significantly increased the strength of the Rajputs in Awadh.

Whosoever acquired the power assumed the title of Raja. The title of raja is not very old or rather to say is a modern invention. It is evident that there were many empires and whenever an empire breaks some local able men start to consolidate their power with the support of local people and assume the title of Raja. In the case of Awadh when Jaunpur kingdom was declined certain Rajput clans like Bais, Bachgoti, Kanhpuria, founded themselves and find it convenient to establish the title of Raja.[31]

The Geographical aspect

The surrounding jungles played a crucial role in bolstering the power of these landlords, providing them with natural shelter and protection. These jungles were dense, making it very difficult for state authorities to penetrate and challenge the Rajputs. It was common practice for zamindars to build their forts or garhis within these jungles, leveraging the natural terrain for defense.

Declaration of Zor Talab

The zenith of local Rajput power was reached during the latter half of the seventeenth century. While they held considerable armed retainers as a local entity, they remained subdued under the mighty rule of Akbar. However, the weakening of Mughal rule during the last quarter of the seventeenth century created opportunities for various groups, including local zamindars, to exploit the situation for their benefit. Consequently, some areas of Awadh were declared as zor talab (turbulent) from the revenue realization perspective. Baiswara, primarily inhabited by the Bais Rajputs, is a suitable example in this regard. The Bais Rajputs, who held a sizeable portion of Awadh suba, became a formidable power against the revenue authorities.

The office of faujdar played an important role in realizing revenue from troublesome areas. This position was typically bestowed upon individuals with high military experience. When a faujdar was appointed to turbulent regions, they were provided with mashrut (conditional mansab) to meet their expenses.[32] In one such case, due to the turbulent character of the Bais Rajputs, Baiswara was designated as a separate faujdari jurisdiction during the time of Shahjahan.[33] The faujdar appointed in this area was granted an additional mansab to manage the region effectively.[34] The eighteenth-century source Maathir-ul Umara mentions that a

mashrut (conditional mansab) was given to faujdars appointed to the Baiswara region in Awadh.[35]

The importance of Baiswara can be analysed by measuring its revenue share during the reign of Akbar. The area alone contributed 30 percent of revenue (approx. 2 crore 70 lakh dams) from the sarkar of Lucknow in Awadh suba. Out of 133 mahals of whole suba the Bais rajputs controlled 25 mahals.[36]

During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as the central power faced challenges from every corner of the empire, the subedars sought independence from the central authority. Local potentates also exploited this opportunity. Bhupat Rai, munshi of Rad Andaz Khan, the faujdar of Baiswara, through his account Insha-i Roshan Kalam, sheds light on the challenges faced by the faujdar in revenue collection and how local zamindars were challenging State authorities during the decline of Mughal power.[37]

In analogy to this development, one can see how lesser-known local potentates were wielding military power. In this context, one can also refer to the case of the Kanhpurias of Tiloi in the Awadh region. Initially not visible in Persian sources until the middle of the seventeenth century, they began to emerge as a matter of concern in later period Persian sources.[38] The Kanhpurias posed a threat to the state appointed madad-i mash grantees in Salon area of Awadh during the second half of seventeenth century. There are evidences that these grantees even complained to the Centre about their harassment by the Kanhpuria rajputs.[39] Similarly with their growing power, the Kanhpurias are known to have dominated the Ansaris from the pargana of Ibrahimabad, sarkar Awadh.[40]

Further, with the weakening power of the Mughal Empire, the subahdars became more powerful, leading to the establishment of their own states, known as successor states.

It has been argued that under the strong rule of Saadat Khan Burhan-ul Mulk, local chieftains, particularly the Rajput zamindars, were effectively kept in check. During the early years of Saadat Khan's administration, revenue collection rose significantly from 70 lakh to 107 lakh rupees. The rebellious Kanhpuria chief of Tiloi, Raja Mohan Singh, engaged in battle with Burhan-ul Mulk's forces, was killed, and his possessions were seized.[41] The successor of nawab Saadat Khan could not manage to maintain such control on zamindar class. From the time of Asafuddaula, the nawabs of Awadh were mostly busy in their personal luxury and took very little interest in the state politics and military organization. This resulted in the growing power of Rajput zamindars.

A close examination of the sources reveals that even during the rule of Saadat Khan, the Rajputs of Awadh were not entirely submissive, and their power was acknowledged by the ruling class. One notable example is the Bais chieftain Chet Rai, renowned for his bravery. When Saadat Khan undertook operations to deal with the recalcitrant zamindars of Awadh and collect due revenue, he encountered Chet Rai, who boldly challenged the Nawab to open battle. Although Chet Rai was defeated in the ensuing battle, Saadat Khan was impressed by his bravery and subsequently approved a reduced revenue rate for the Bais zamindars, setting it at half the standard rate.[42]

State authorities periodically attempted to suppress the Rajputs with various administrative and military measures. However, over the span of three centuries, no government was able to achieve their absolute submission.

We have discussed various power bases of the local Rajput zamindars of Awadh. These factors collectively determined the strength of the Awadh Rajputs. Their power did not develop suddenly; it evolved gradually in response to the prevailing conditions of the time. Additionally, the power of local groups was not always intended to challenge the state, nor did the state always perceive the power of local potentates as a threat. The state often leveraged their power for its own consolidation. However, as the state machinery weakened, these zamindars eventually used their strength against the state, seizing opportunities to assert their autonomy.

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KAMRUPI BRAHMIN WIDOWS IN CULTURAL CONTEXT: A CASE STUDY OF GUWAHATI, ASSAM

Epahi Baruah
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Abstract

Widowhood includes women of all ages, majority of whom are affected by multiple vulnerabilities and marginalisation, even in gender discourses. 20th century CE Assam witnessed colonial and nationalist debates on women, although widows still remained at the margins. A widowfaces discrimination in complex ways as she is defined by her relationship with her husband, even after his death. There are two categories of widows in Assam, namely, Kamrupi Brahmin widows and Vaishnavite widows. The Kamrupi Brahmins are associated with Shakta worship and are believed to be descendents of Kanauj or Maithili Brahmins. They inhabit areas covered by the undivided Kamrup district or Lower Assam, especially in Guwahati, Nalbari, and Barpeta. It was during India's freedom struggle that universalization of women's education was advocated which also had an impact onKamrupi Brahmins, and widows were encouraged to enroll themselves in educational institutions. The socio-cultural lives of the Kamrupi Brahmin widows have seen marked changes in recent decades. This paper attempts to examine the cultural context of the Kamrupi Brahmin widows from a historical perspective. The methodology includes both primary and secondary sources, which is supplemented by field study conductedin Guwahati city, to understand the subject from a wider perspective.

*Key words:*Assam, Caste system, Culture, Historical context, Kamrupi Brahmin Widow.

Introduction

Widowhood includes women of all ages, and it may well represent the most economically and socially vulnerable group within diverse populations throughout the world.[1]Widows face severe discrimination as they continue to be defined by her relationship to her husband during his lifetime, and also after his death. The issues and challenges that widows experience in India are complex as they have roots in geography and cultural practices related to thepatriarchalcustomarynorms, which perpetuates subjugation of women.to ensure that male supremacy is upheld at any cost[2], and religious belief systems. (Chen, 1998;[3] Vimal K. Lahari, 2015;[4] Upadhyay, 1996;[5] *Urvija Priyadarshini* and *Rekha Pande,* 2021[6]). According to the *Census of India: 2011*, the figure of widows stand at 7.4 % of the total population and women outnumber men accounting for nearly 78% of total widowed population.[7]In the Indian context, a widow in Hinduism occupies the lowest position in the social order.[8] It may be noted that Brahmanical religion with its patriarchal ideology keeps women subordinated and disadvantageous in a society.According to the *Manusmriti,* a Hindu law text, a woman without a husband suffers from social stigma as she is considered a complete

human being only under the aegis of male guardianship, viz; father, brother, husband or the son.[9]Yet, a widow is not allowed to remarry, deprived of basic comforts, suffer abuse and exploitation at the hands of family members, particularly in the context of property rights and inheritance.[10]Hindu widows also continue to face tremendous challenges in contemporary times and widows from low-income families are forced to relocate to religious pilgrimage places such as Vrindavan, as they are neglected by families of their own and that of her husband.[11]

To address the realities of life of the widows in Assam, it is imperative to understand the historical context of Hinduism in Assam history.The kings of early Assam claimed themselves to be upholders of the *varnasramadharma,* which refers to the Brahmanical tradition of *varna* and *asrama* and every individual has to undergo four stages of life,and the brahmanas played a crucial role in the spread of the Brahmanical faith. Epigraphic records such as the Nidhanpur Grant mention that revenue-free lands were donated to the brahmanas in the pre-Ahom period.[12]This encouraged migration of brahmanas to Kamarupa, identified as Ancient Assam, from about the 7th century CE which in turn contributed to the spread of the Puranic Hindu faith.[13]It seems likely that the brahmanas who migrated to Assam belonged mainly to Mithila. A section of them came from Kathiawar of Gujarat and were known as Nagar BrahmaGas. The brahmanas of Assam today follow the Mithila School in matters of social law, and trace their descent from the brahmanas of Kanya-kubja (Kanauj).[14]The Kamrupi (or Kamarupi) Brahmins of Assam are believed to have been the earliest of the brahmanas to have migrated to Assam. They are also referred to as Sakta brahmanas and are settled in Lower Assam in the erstwhile undivided Kamrup district, which includes Guwahati, Nalbari, and Barpeta. There are also a group of brahmanas in Assam, known as the Vaisnavite brahmanas and they mainly inhabit places in Upper Assam.[15]

Socio-religious reform movements and 19th-20th century debates in colonial India on women's discourse raised voices against*sati* (self-immolation by a widow), widow remarriage, child marriage etc.[16] Scholars such as S.L.Baruah,[17]N.N.Vasu,[18]Tikha Rani Das[19] and Rashmirekha Barman[20] have addressed various issues regarding the women in Assam. In the context of the Assamese widows, they have attempted to analyse the reasons for increasing number of child widows and problems of widowhood. Indira Goswami's[21] work on the Brahmin widows in South Kamrup district of Assam in the pre-independence period reflects the deplorable condition they live in and the social injustice meted out to these women. The existing literature survey reveals that the Kamrupi Brahmin widows have not received adequate attention so far, being doubly marginalized as a woman and widow.

Objective and Methodology

The objective of this paper is to examine the lives of Kamrupi Brahmin widows of Assam in cultural context from a historical perspective. The methodology is based on both primary and secondary sources. Field study is an important aspect of this work and the select area for case study is Guwahati[22] in Assam. Interviews were conducted among a cross-section of Kamrupi Brahmins, and data collection was also done using structured questionnaire. Altogether ten villages of greater Kamrup district including two urban localities from Guwahati were selected for study. A total of 30 (thirty) KamrupiBrahmin widows were

interviewed, with some of the interviewees taking assistance from their family members. This study was conducted using the Purposive-Random Sampling Method based on the objectives of the present research undertaken. The list of persons interviewed is given in Table-1 and Table-2 and include widows and their families covering the two districts of Kamrup and Kamrup Metropolitan. The survey was conducted in Assamese language. To understand the subject from a wider perspective, the interviews were conducted on a cross-section of the select target group between the 38-80 years of age, both male and female, and including widows, daughters, daughters-in-law, son, and sons-in-law. An important aim of the survey was to gain insights into the attitudinal change of Kamrupi Brahmin widows which has come about due to the changes in socio-cultural aspects throughout the different periods of history.

The Kamrupi Brahmin Widows

The brahmanas of Assam belong to one of the 26 *gotras*.[23] Due to endogamic practices, Brahmins marry only within their caste, and *Swa-gotra* marriage or marriage between same *gotra* is prohibited. The institution of marriage has crucial implications for a Kamrupi Brahmin in Assam and widowhood is considered as a curse. A widow in Assam follows the *dayabhanga* system of inheritance where the son inherits the ancestral property and she has no claim over the property belonging to her father or her husband on account of the patriarchal norms. She is ostracized by the society at large, deprived of freedom and decent livelihood and marginalised in the name of religion. There are many strict norms to be followed by widows as prescribed by the concept of purity and pollution of the caste system. They have to ensure that they are not visible in public as theirr sight or their touch is believed to be a bad omen for the people who encounter them. Some of the lifestyle norms include strict eating habits, such as days of continuous fasting, abstaining from cooked food, surviving only on raw food such as vegetables, sleeping on a bed of bamboo, undergoing harsh 'purification rituals' of their body if touched even by the shadow of low-caste man, etc.[24] Child marriage is usually practised among Brahmin girls and this was also the same with the Kamrupi Brahmins. Indira Goswami[25]opined that the practice of young brahmin girls getting married off to much older men was one of the reasons why child widows increased in number in Assam. She also commented that the status of widowhood in Assam among the brahmin women in Kamrup and that of the *Sattras* (Neo-Vaishnavite monastic institution) were both considered to be pitiful. Widowed young girls were also deprived of education for it is thought to be of no use to them as they have to stay enclosed within the four walls of the house. In this context, Pitambardeva Goswami narrated how the contemporary society alleged that Brahmin widows were associated with illicit relationships, and that, guardians sold them to foreigners and military men. He noted as thus… [26]

"The pathetic condition of many of the Brahman widows, and the consequent degradation of the society to sinfulness is no longer remaining unknown to people. … But, no one dares to say that sinful acts like killing of foetus and undergoing abortion is not a kind of

social revolution … Brahmin widows today are being sold to retired sailors *(khalasi)*, Chinese carpenters *(chinamistry)*, tea garden owners *(bagichar sahib),* and even to the coolies *(dhengarkuli)*."

The practice of *sati* (self-immolation of widows on the funeral pyre of her deceased husband) has remained a much debated issue on whether it was adopted by the brahman widows. It is believed that there was a gradual shift within *Dharmasastra* from earlier prohibition to complete endorsement in its attitude toward *sati*. There is little record of Brahmin widows having undergone oppressions of widow burning or *Sati*, although it is noted that according to the *Grihyasutras*, on the death pyre of a *kshetriya*, the wife and a bow was to be placed to the north of the deceased, marking both as constant companions for the man. Within the Hindu custom, it was around the 19th and early 20th centuries CE, that there was a tendency for the practice of *sati* or widow burning to become customary, in which the wife in concern had no say in the matter.[27] However, some scholars also remarked that the placing of the wife in the funeral pyre was only a symbolic gesture. In Assam, it is generally accepted that *sati* was not prevalent, although there was a single case of widow-burning that was recorded in May 1846 in the *Orunodoi,* the first Assamese newspaper. It was stated that with the intervention of British administration, the arrangement for burning of the widow of the elder brother of Lambodar Majumdar of Kalugaon near Sivasagar was prevented on 26th of April of that year.[28]

Another crucial Hindu norm that affected widows was the issue of re-maaariage. In 1856 CE the British government officially declared widow re-marriage as legal. This of course did not immediately make impact or change the attitude of the society towards the widows. Gunabhiram Baruah was highly inspired by Iswachandra Vidyasagar's plea for widow remarriage and at the age of 22 yrs he got the opportunity to be present in the historic first widow remarriage ceremony in Calcutta which took place on December 1856 CE. The marriage was organized by Vidyasagar himself. The waves of reform movements of Bengal were able to instill new ideas in the young mind of the educated Gunabhiram Baruah. He began to write in various journals in support of widow marriage along with Hemchandra Baruah. Finally, Gunabhiram Baruah at the age of 33 years, after two years of his first wife's death, married a widow named Bishnupriya and thereby demonstrated his support towards widow remarriage. This marked the beginning in Assam of the gradual change towards empowerment of the women, particularly of the widows by allowing them to take up the modern education system. It was reflected in the lives of various widows such as Nalini Bala Devi, daughter of Late Nabin Chandra Bordoloi, and NirmalpravaBordoloi. In early 20th century CE a number of scholars wrote on the theme of widowhood which brought about consciousness among the people. A significant aspect of the writings was that some of the stories written by DeshpranLaxmidhar Sharma, Sneha Devi, and ChandrapravaSaikiani revealed the attitudinal change of society towards widows during 19th and 20th centuries CE.

A Case Study of Guwahati, Assam: Method and Data Analysis

A survey on Kamrupi Brahmins was conducted in Guwahati, which covers the present districts of Kamrup and Kamrup Metropolitan in Assam. The field study was conducted

during the period 01-21October 2022 *via* telephonic and personal interviews. Altogether 36(thirty-six) respondents participated, of which 30% of urban respondents, and 70% of the adjacent rural areas of North Guwahati. The questions addressed to widowsrelated to traditional norms and ritual practices and their opinion on the condition of widows in contemporary society. The interviewees also included members of the family particularly with the senior-most member of each family so as to get a perspective of generational information on the subject. The views of male members of the family such as sons and sons-in-laws, where the widow resided were also included wherever possible. The total samples of 36 individuals included the range of 38-80 yrs of age.

The respondents gave a similar response regarding the orthodox society and restrictions imposed on girls' education particularly of the upper castes. It may be mentioned that by 1850 CE, missionary schools were established in various places in Assam. However, only a handful of widows got educational opportunities and that too generally up to higher secondary level. Women of other castes went to schools and colleges in greater number than those of the Brahmin families. In post-colonial India, there was increasing number of widows who attainedformal education, and in some cases, even upto college level. An influential factor for this consciousness is said to be the contact with Bengali elite circles during the post-colonial period. The widows of Kamrupi Brahmins too benefitted by this changing scenario in the society. The survey revealed that dress code for widows changed from restrictive white clothes to comfortable attire and the use of *bindi* (*vermilion* powder used by women which indicates her marital status) was the choice of the individual concerned. The lives of widows in general involved restrictive diets, and for theKamrupi Brahmin widows, the customary rules during Ambubachi period lasted for four days. They kept fast and consumed only fruits. They were not allowed to touch the earth and hence could only consume whatever was placed to their bed space. Even the water they consumed had to be filled for four days at one time to last for the entire duration. Such norms had adverse affect on the health of the widow, and as a result many widows suffered from illnessses. There are some widows who deliberately choose the traditional norms and way of life. On the other hand, many widows have opted to lead a more practical and modern lifestyle.

The interviewees informed that the Kamrupi Brahmin widows were often considered as a symbol of bad luck and as carriers of bad fortune. Even within a household, the other members of the family avoided seeing them in the mornings before they went to work or set out from home. AKamrupi Brahmin widow wears the sheath of areca nut in their feet so that the feet do not touch the earth, as a mere touch would pollute the earth. Married women were advised not to come in close contact with the widows as they believed that the same luck would befall them. On auspicious occasions such as marriage, thesight of widows was indeed a bad omen and care should be taken not to venture out in the public space. In the survey, highest number of KamrupiBrahmin widows state that cultural taboos were the greatest challenge of being a widow. However, they also informed

that with changing times and mindset there have been some marked improvements in the treatment of widows and their right to live a life of dignity.

Table 1: List of Persons Interviewed in Kamrup District, Assam: October 2022

Sl.No.	Name	Gender	Address	Age (in years)	Status
1.	Binapani Goswami	Female	BorpaniSattra	78	Widow
2.	Nilima Devi	Female	Hajo	72	Widow
3.	Deepa Goswami	Female	Palashbari	70	Widow
4.	Benu Goswami	Female	Dadara	78	Daughter-in-law of Benu Goswami
5.	Moni Goswami	Female	Dadara	54	Daughter-in-law of Moni Goswami
6.	Thaneshwari Devi	Female	Rangiya	72	Widow
7.	Haripriya Devi	Female	Borshala	80	Widow
8.	DigantaSarma	Male	Borshala	58	Son of Haripriya Devi
9.	Kanta Devi	Female	Chaygaon	73	Widow
10.	Padmini Bhattacharya	Female	Bamunigaon	74	Widow
11.	Purnima Devi	Female	Ghoramara	68	Widow
12.	Aabha Devi	Female	Amingaon	65	Widow
13.	Trishna Baruah	Female	Amingaon	38	Daughter of Aabha Devi
14.	Pratima Goswami	Female	Chaygaon	59	Widow
15.	Guxaanipriya Devi	Female	BorpaniSattra	80	Widow
16.	Debojit Goswami	Male	BorpaniSattra	55	Son-in-law of Guxanipriya Devi
17.	Meenu Baruah	Female	Amingaon	58	Widow
18.	Saraswati Baruah	Female	Ghoramara	57	Widow
19.	Banti Devi	Female	Rangiya	62	Widow
20.	Padma Goswami	Female	Dadara	68	Widow
21.	Giribala Devi	Female	Bamunigaon	80	Widow
22.	NirolaSarma Baruah	Female	Bamunigaon	60	Daughter of Giribala Devi
23.	Sabitri Devi	Female	Palashbari	79	Widow
24.	Gayatri Sarma	Female	Palashbari	57	Daughter of Sabitri Devi

25.	MainuSarma	Female	Hajo	60	Widow
26.	Parbati Goswami	Female	Rangiya	62	Widow
27.	Heera Devi	Female	Dadara	68	Widow

Table 2: List of Persons Interviewed in Kamrup (Metropolitan) District, Assam: October 2022

Sl.No.	Name	Gender	Address	Age (in years)	Status
1.	Bimala Devi	Female	Bharalumukh	75	Widow
2.	Parbati Goswami	Female	Lankeshwar	59	Widow
3.	Nirmala Devi	Female	Bharalumukh	59	Widow
4.	Pratibha Devi	Female	Bharalumukh	67	Widow
5.	AlakaSarma Devi	Female	Bharalumukh	70	Widow
6.	Ambika Devi	Female	Lankeshwar	64	Widow
7.	Kanchanmoni Devi	Female	Bharalumukh	75	Widow
8.	Sarala Goswami	Female	Lankeshwar	70	Widow
9.	Shantipriya Devi	Female	Lankeshwar	61	Widow

The survey on food preference, education and dress code was conducted in Guwahati, Assam. Figure-1 illustrates that 90% of the respondents were in favour of change from the traditional norms, and about 50% have started to include protein-rich non-vegetarian foods like fish and egg in their diet, due to being health conscious and exposure to modern medical facilities. The rest 50 % prefer the traditional way of diet as they have been following since their husbands' death.

Figure-1: Food Preference of Widows in Guwahati, Assam
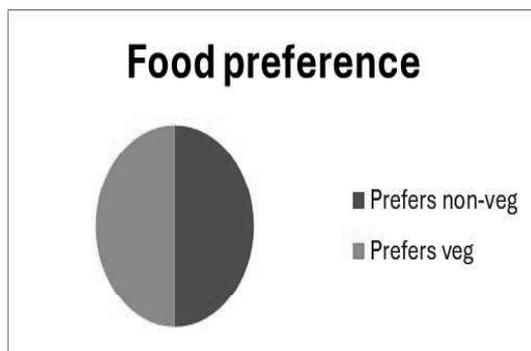
Figure-2 reveals that 60% of widows have educational qualification up to tenth standard and did not pursue further after marriage. The rest 40% of the respondents informed that they have passed higher secondary leveland alsoattended college.

Figure-2: Educational Qualification of Widows in Guwahati, Assam
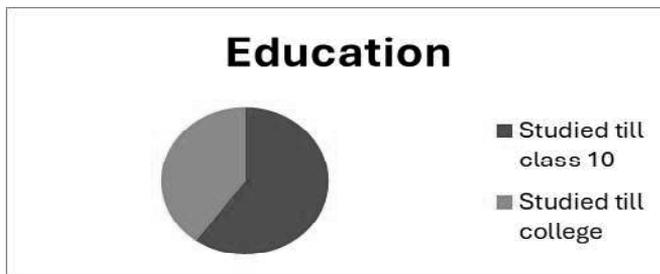
Figure-3 relates to dress code for widows, and around 80% of the respondents irrespective of age, stated that dress code should be more liberal or they should be no dress code at all. In their opinion, the white coloured attire only brought more sorrow than any peace and it marked them as widows in front of the entire society. They particularly stated that people should be allowed to wear dresses as per their choice and comfort. The rest 6% of the respondents however, did not comment anything on their dress code.

Figure-3: Dress Code of Widows in Guwahati, Assam

On the question of whether the norms laid out for widows were justified or not, 93% of the widows stated that they follow the practices but wish that it was bit liberal towards them. They opined that the norms only burdened them mentally.There is a general awareness that it is not right to ostracise widows only because of the death of her husband, for which she is not resposible. The exposure to education and cultural interactions have to an extent empowered women which is an important step towards a better status for widows. The survey revealed that there are still a section of widows (7%) who said that they have accepted their fate and follow the norms without any question.

Main Findings and Conclusion

The issues and challenges of widowhood must be seen as an integral part of the broader struggle against gender inequalities.[29] In India, Brahmin widows continue to lead miserable lives due to the patriarchal norms that control them. However, there have been some changes in favour of widows during the colonial and post-colonial periods of Indian history on account of reforms regarding child marriage, widow re-marriage and female education. The Kamrupi Brahmins of Assam were also impacted by the reform movements that came about with India's freedom struggle and universalization of women's education. The *Hindu Widows Remarriage Act of 1856* legalised re-marriage of widows in India. A crucial factor of women empowerment is property rights, and The *Hindu Succession Act of 2005* has removed the discrimination between sons and daughters regarding inheritance. It amended the *Hindu Succession Act of 1956* to give equal rights to daughters as well which is a landmark law that favours women and widows. It is worthwhile to mention that Hindu caste laws do not function uniformly in India on account of the cultural context of a community. As N.N. Bhattacharyya[30]N.N. Bhattacharyya. Religious Culture of North-Eastern India. Manohar Publishers, New Delhi. 1995 p. 46 aptly remarks: "The emphasis given on *svadharma*(typical socio-religious and cultural characteristics of a given people) and *lokacara*(existing popular custom) by the lawgivers made the caste system in North-east India liberal and flexible." The present study based on field survey has revealed that the Kamrupi Brahmin widows in Guwahati do not follow rigid Brahmanical norms especially in the context of food habits, dress code and education. In contemporary society, KamrupiBrahmin widows are encouraged to adopt practical and modern ways of life. Yet, there still persist the huge challenge to remove all types of hurdles, and ensure that the marginalised widows do not forfeit her rights and interests to live in a dignified manner protected by the legal provisions.

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19TH CENTURY HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF AHMEDABAD CITY THROUGH MISSIONARY WEEKLY (BG)

Dr. Neeta M. Khandpekar

Abstract

Ahmedabad was known as the 'Manchester of India' for its thriving trade, commerce, and industry. The city's affluent merchants and financiers formed a prosperous social class, establishing a predominantly hereditary plutocracy. Ahmedabad is renowned for its architectural masterpiece, symbolized by a banyan tree that is depicted entwining the palm tree. It experienced a significant transformation in the late 19th century, opening up new trade routes. The Bombay Guardian news weekly forms a valuable source of information on various city-related matters including the activities of the Irish Presbyterian Mission, Salvation Army, and famines. This paper uncovers the lesser-known historical structure of Ahmedabad through the rarely explored news source namely The Bombay Guardian (1851-1905).

Key words: Nineteenth Century, Bombay Guardian, Issues, Ahmedabad, Rare News.

Introduction

The present paper is framed by using the *Bombay Guardian Weekly* Newspaper (henceforth *BG*) The first issue of BG came out in March 1851 and the last issue on 22 July 1905. The issues of BG are available in Maharashtra State Archives at Mumbai. One can see the issues of BG coming out every Friday and then on every Saturday. It had wide circulation including India and as far as Europe. The copies were also circulated across China, United States of America, and Australia. Interestingly it carried religious articles with news on natural calamities like famines. It also covered general news together with happenings in the missionary circles and churches around. It carried columns like letters, telegraphs, etc. This article concentrates on the news on the Irish Presbyterian Mission, work of Salvation Army work with touching glimpse of famines that occurred especially in the 19th Century Ahmedabad. In those days Ahmedabad served as prominent northern headquarter of Bombay Presidency.

Architecture and City Design

Behramji in his book mentions Ahmedabad as rich in sights. The remains of Mahomedan (Islamic in today's context) architectural art were magnificent even in their ruins. The mosques and mausoleums, tombs and tanks and pleasure-grounds vied with each other in grandeur and beauty.[2] Ahmedabad was found to have rich treasury of Indo-Islamic Art. Ahmedabad's architectural marvel is synonymous with a banyan tree which is shown strangling the palm.[3] It's the carved stone tracery widows of the late sixteenth century Sidi Sayyid Mosque[4]. In 1868, Mary Carpenter noted that Ahmedabad was not widely known

across India. During a conversation with an educational inspector in Calcutta some months later, she was told that mentioning schools in Ahmedabad was as irrelevant as discussing a school in a remote village in Russia when in England.Art always forms an integral unit, aesthetic expression of a special style of life in all its possible mediums in words of Majumdar[5]. He writes "the existence of a distinct provincial school of painting in Gujarat necessarily implied a parallel style in Architecture, sculpture and the art of industries. Located approximately 130 yards to the South East of the Queen's mosque in Mirzapur stood the Roman Catholic Chapel, a modest and unadorned structure. Its construction took place in 1842 and was later expanded in 1864, with the expenses for both endeavors being covered through subscriptions. Furthermore, situated 350 yards north-east of the Queens mosque was the English church, which was erected in 1848 at a cost of around Rs.12,000. This church boasted an Elizabethan style, featuring lancet windows, a pointed tiled roof, and a western belfry. Its ground plan took the shape of a cross, measuring 71 feet in length and 42 feet in width, and had a capacity to accommodate 139 individuals. Presently, it is recognized as the Church of North India[6]. There existed an Irish Presbyterian Mission Church at Raikhad.

Trade and Commerce

Kenneth noted that Ahmedabad's prosperity stemmed from commerce and industry, rather than from exploiting the rural areas. The city's handicrafts thrived independently of any royal patronage, while its affluent merchants and financiers formed a privileged social class within the urban community, essentially a hereditary plutocracy. The *Nagarseth*, or city leader, along with the Mahajans, or guilds, played a crucial role in ensuring that the city's administration remained attuned to their interests.[7] Associated with the title 'Manchester of India' the city of Ahmedabad was oldest municipal corporation of our country. Urban development in 19th C Ahmedabad can be seen to fall into two periods. In 1817-1883, the Collectors were the full in charges of the city. During this time initially one could see many new advancements later to meet with disappointment. The emergence of a newer municipal corporation became necessary as the decisions made by the municipality somehow hindered the self-interest of the people.

Kenneth elaborates in his book about the first collector of Ahmedabad, John Andrew Dunlop, who held a positive outlook on the city's recovery. Dunlop, the Revenue Commissioner in 1830, noted that despite setbacks, the normal trade of Ahmedabad was on the rise, with the city's trade flourishing. It is worth mentioning that two decades after 1850, Ahmedabad began to emerge from its isolation, opening up new opportunities in the market. It is also worth noting that the workforce in Ahmedabad, particularly in cotton manufacturing, was more established compared to Bombay and other major cities in India. In 1892, it was observed that in Ahmedabad and Surat, there existed a permanent class of workers who did not intend to return to agriculture. Ahmedabad stood out as a significant center of the cotton industry with a distinct mill population. The majority of factory workers lived independently and remained in the city until retirement. The historical events that impacted Ahmedabad included the Earthquake (1819), Floods (1868, 1875, 1927), Fire (1877), The plague (1896 to 1907 & 1916 to 1918), and the Influenza pandemic (1918-19).

Harish Doshi points out that during the final years of Maratha rule, natural disasters were prevalent. The combination of internal and external threats led to a significant sense of insecurity among the populace. It was believed that, to escape these perils, closed neighborhoods in Pol mode began to emerge within the city[8]. According to Dunlop's report from 1830, "The residents of Ahmedabad are the most prosperous and successful I have encountered anywhere. In 1856, Buist observed that Ahmedabad is famous for its gold, silk, and exquisite artistry. The city's merchants and brokers are highly regarded for their benevolence, affluence, and intellectual pursuits. Hope and Fergusson (1866) remarked that "the city's merchants rank among the most affluent and enlightened in all of India." Ducat, in 1885, made reference to the "overall prosperity of the population and the well-constructed upper-story homes."

The latter part of the period saw the implementation of Lord Ripon's local governance reforms, leading to the establishment of a municipal corporation in Ahmedabad. This initiative addressed critical issues related to water supply and sewerage management in the city. A Town Wall committee[9] was also formed to enhance commerce and trade, with a renewed focus on collecting town duties that had been previously neglected. The British, led by Andrew Dunlop, found the estimated cost of the wall's repair to be unacceptable. However, subsequent officers supported the idea of repairing the wall. By 1825[10], the wall had deteriorated significantly, worse than it had been in 1817. Mr. Crawford, the collector at the time, proposed levying a house tax to fund the repairs, but this suggestion proved futile.

In 1830, Mr. A Dunlop expressed concern over the potential danger faced by the affluent and vulnerable city. Subsequently, the influential individuals of Ahmedabad engaged in discussions with the city's leaders, who strongly opposed the idea of levying house-tax. Instead, they proposed a modest increase in town duties to cover the costs of repairs. This alternative approach was deemed acceptable by the British officials, leading to the establishment of funds for the construction of the Town Wall. Notably, the committee also took on the task of building a new reservoir near the heart of the walled city at Manek Chowk, along with a dharamsala and a grain market in close proximity. Thus despite initial resistance from the Mahratta Rules, a consensus was eventually reached among British officers to repair the deteriorating wall.

By 1842, the reconstruction of the wall was completed, along with the development of new municipal services and infrastructure within the walled city. They invested in various municipal services, such as maintaining fire engines and roads, providing street lighting, managing rubbish collection, constructing and maintaining public toilets, and establishing police chowkis. In 1849, a piped water supply was introduced from the river to the center of the town, specifically at Manek Chowk, and even extended to private residences. The construction of the Jami Masjid, also known as the Great Mosque, was completed in 1423 and featured 260 exquisitely carved columns. Hindu artisans were employed to construct the mosque, incorporating elements of Hindu architecture[11].

Salvation Army and The Irish Presbyterian Mission (IPM)

In 1861, the Irish Presbyterian Mission initiated missionary efforts in Ahmedabad. The Salvation Army had established a presence in Gujarat by 1884, founding a corps in Ranipur,

a Christian village associated with the Irish Presbyterian Mission despite objections from IPM[12]. This decision sparked a dispute, as noted by Rev. T M Hudson of Bombay, who argued that the Salvation Army's work in South India, the Marathi region, and Ceylon surpassed its efforts in Gujarat. Major Fredrick St. George de Lautor Tucker took the Indian name of Fakir Singh and used to write from Ahmedabad to *Bombay Guardian* about the work of Salvation Army. Its publication *Guzerati War Cry* finds frequent mentioned in BG[13].

The BG of 1883 carried the report of the IPM of Gujarat and Kathiawar. During that period Rev. Taylor and Dr. Henry Osborne, the medical missionaries looked after the work of IPM. One can find an interesting episode of a Parsee who was under opium cured of it. It also mentions of certain caste related trouble faced by the Christian community[14] in that area. There is also a mention of the number of adults baptized. The *Hitechu* of Ahmedabad stated that in Limree[15], there exists a regulation where if a man passes away without any direct descendants, his property, regardless of having a brother or any other legal representative, is forfeited to the Government[16]. One can find an exhaustive letter written by Mr. G P Taylor mention the names of popular and famous Christians Missionaries well known in the Gujarat Province.

In 1888 one can see a well-arranged and bound report of IPM (Gujarat and Kathiawar) and that of existent Zenana Mission. This report mentioned about the number of Missionaries (8), Zenana Agents (6), Evangelists (12), Rapporteurs (5), Christian School Teachers (49) and Non-Christian Teachers (91). There is a mention of with regrets the rift caused amongst the Salvation Army members[17].

1884 letter of BG mentions about contradictory letter[18] mentioning " I have come across a mere truly converted and holy people than Major Tucker and his colleagues. They fully leave by faith, wholly dependent on God and they show by their deeds they are born of spirit (a well-wisher)"[19]. T Glover has penned another letter expressing his views on the Salvation Army's relationship with various organizations in India. According to him, the Salvation Army should not be suspicious of the support they have received from these bodies, as they have provided them with members, officers, and financial assistance since their arrival in the country. The IPM (Indian Political Mission) warmly welcomed the Salvation Army and even gave them the opportunity to address their followers. The IPM trusted that the Salvation Army would not misuse this trust by trying to persuade these converts to leave their respective organizations. Unfortunately, their hopes were shattered when Major Tucker decided to withdraw the converts from their original leadership and bring them under his own. It is regrettable that Major Tucker believed it was his duty to do so [20].

A sensational telegram[21] from Major Tucker entitled The last Indian War-cry of May 26 is published together with glorious news from Borsad, Jamadars pushing the war, on giving up Hookas and saving souls. In BG salvation army wing of Indian Auxiliary writes that the mode of warfare they followed was supportive and well adapted to the poverty existent at that time. The locals used to supply them with simple food and that their shelters were open aired under Banyan tree. They had a blanket, brush, toothbrush and some basic suits- clothes and some few blank sheets of papers[22]. An yet another exhaustive letter in reply to the

attacks made on Salvation Army's work in Gujarat having about 1300 members[23]. The chief secretary of Salvation Army commissioner Mr. Booth Hellberg writes "… our case has been started by commissioner Booth Tucker… now little ground have for making out a case against the Salvation Army as supplied by Mr. Gillespie o IPM Gujarat"[24].

In Limree Church was constructed by Mr. Gillespie where the Christian faith was preached. There is also a mention of Mr. Tucker making and assault that "the fruits of the Salvation Army are already seen in the up-growth of hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife sedations etc". Yet another letter by W. Beatty of IPM Ahmedabad in opposition of the Salvation Army can be seen[25]. Following this a letter by Mr. R Gillespie of Borsad reads "Dear Sir, referring to the anonymous letter recently issued, apparently by Mr. Tucker as an apologia related to action of Salvation Army in Gujarat. I shall be greatly obliged by your allowing me space to say that I heartily congratulate the gallant Major on its appearance. Let us hope that in future he will avoid giving people the idea that in regard to all this his words and actions he claims to enjoy the direct inspiration and guidance of the spirit, also that he will instruct his people to cease reporting that whereas the Irish Missionaries are very great sinners, their sahib has not sinned for the last 7 years… Fakirism, old drums, broken-winded cornets are barley are not likely to be blessed to the salvation of many souls. The appeal to the eye, the ear and the stomach do not satisfy the craving of the heart".

Replying to Mr. Gillespie William Beatty of Ahmedabad writes "Dear Sir, Mr. Tucker has at last found it advisable to reply to the strictures made by myself and other members of the Irish Mission on his invasion of the field of our work and the perversion to his sect of the number of converts. He is making division in the Christian villager of Ranipur near Ahmedabad… the wife of a government school teacher in the village was confined. Their house is close to salvation army quarters. The continual noise of the drum protracted to a late hour at night, was to torture her. Her husband went to the officers of the army and most respectfully asked that the drum beating might be stopped as it was not good for his wife, but they refused" [26].

In the 1900 edition of BG, Mr. Mulligan from the Irish Presbyterian Bhil Mission[27] of Jhalod penned an extensive letter on further Insights into the Bhils[28]. He highlighted that Ahmedabad was a Sunth State characterized by poverty, with the Bhils comprising two-thirds of the total population living in deplorable conditions similar to those of the Jhalod Bhils. Mulligan recounted incidents of famine, including the rescue of Jhalod Bhil children in the Bazaar[29]. He wrote about the appreciation he received from the people for his work with mention of money sent by the BG Editor of that time. The letter also states that some small Bhil children were seen on the street picking and consuming grain out of the dirt with two small girls of Bania Caste assisting them leading to a very contrastive picture.

In the same letter, it is mentioned that the fair and plump little girls belonged to a family in good circumstances, while the potbellied famine waifs appeared to have no one to care for them. Additionally, it is stated that the Bania girls would pick up a few grains and then throw them to the Bhil children. This act was regulated by a custom, but it was prompted by a sense of common humanity. Furthermore, it is observed that the wealthier Hindu population was not indifferent to the distress of the Bhils. This is evident from the number of Bhils

wearing old caste off-clothes and the presence of beggars wandering in the town after dark, during the Hindu dining hour, due to the lack of brotherly support. It appears that their natural impulses were constrained by custom, and their caste divisions prevented the establishment of an organized relief system.

In 1900, Rev. Blair[30], a member of the I.P Jungle Tribes Mission, authored a report in the Missionary and Church News column. He documented the establishment of two new stations by their mission at Sunth Road and Sunth Rampur[31]. The BG of 1904 featured a significant discussion led by Rev. Blair from the Irish Presbyterian Mission in Jhalod[32], specifically focusing on the Women of Bheel Caste in Panch-Mahals[33]. In the Gujarati language, there are two synonyms that can be quite confusing: "Biladi," which means a cat, and "Bhiladi," which refers to a woman belonging to the Bheel Caste. Although these words have distinct meanings, their accidental use can lead to confusion. It is worth noting that when a Bheel - a lord of Creation becomes angry with his spouse, he may not hesitate to physically harm her and refer to her as a Biladi, or a cat. In response, the wife may retaliate by using her nails as claws. Interestingly, among the Bheels, a man has the right to marry multiple wives, while the wife is limited to only one husband. Additionally, women from the Bheel community were prohibited from consuming eggs due to the belief that doing so would eventually turn them into witches (Dakan).

Famine of 1900

In the famine of 1899-1900 pictures and information was covered on the front page of April 1900. Bombay Guardian especially of Ahmedabad. One can see the skeleton and funeral due to its terrors. Thomas Bailey wrote "of course at such time as this disease are rampant the principal one is dysentery from which great many people succumb". Around one million cattle's perished and many thousands are dying on regular basis in famine affected parts. Man people are reported to die of starvation[34].

A letter by T. F. King of Alliance Mission Sanand Guzerat says "the famine is very severe here in Sanand Taluka…. around Kaira, Mehmadabad, Nariad and Anand are plenty of wells and a river running here and there are several missionaries to help but not here"[35]. Reports of Collector and Plague Superintendents of Kaira read "We proceeded to Anand with intention of making our first complete inoculation – demonstration in half- Christianized Dhedwadas of he region, Expectation was the Missionaries influence would help us to get ever man, womn and child done in more prompt and complete manner than in any other community. We selected a very large Dhedwada under Roman Catholic influence, but through the priest helped energetically, we met more difficulties and spent more time than we expected… we commenced the rat-demonstration in Ratanpur with improved traps sent to us from Bombay"[36].

The Collector and Plague Superintendent of Kaira Arthur Wood wrote to the Secretary to Government General Department (Plague) Bombay dated 4th June 1908 "Sir, I have the honor to submit through the Commissioner my monthly report on the progress of anti-plague demonstrations in the District ". Dr Walsh[37] investigated the old inoculations and tabulated the findings, he thus mentions "I printed vernacular postcards of 'First Report of Dying Rats' and

'preliminary Return of Plague- like sickness; for hitherto dying rats are only heard of casually and village officers shrink from submitting even the regular plague-return-until several people have already died with well-developed buboes on them".

The Surgeon General with the Government of Bombay wrote to the Sanitary Commission for the Government of Bombay[38] … " Inoculation was not well received and the Acting Surgeon General who had some experience of Gujarat is not…….sanguine of its becoming generally popular especially as the Jains and Banias are likely not to accept it" .

Gandhi Ashram

The first ashram, or retreat that Gandhi established in India was at Sabarmati, which was a suburb of Ahmedabad. The well-known Gandhi Ashram formed 1918 at Sabarmati and the Gujarat Vidyapith remind us of the Father of Nation who made Ahmedabad his centre of activities during the twenties. From 1918 to 1930 this was source and active centre for all activities. He was said to lead the famous Dandi March on 12th March 1930 from this Ashram (385 Km to Dandi). There is a mention that in contrast with popular cities like Mumbai, Kolkatta and others, Ahmedabad was created by the British keeping in mind the changes needed specially to make it industrially developed city preserving its culture. The gradual change in the city of the Ahmedabad was distinctly visible as a continuation from the past to the present unlike other cities of that time [39,40].

In a Nutshell

Relevant issues during 19th Century are beautifully brought in formation of the City rightly called the Manchester of India. BG also highlighted the social activities of the Irish Presbyterian Mission (IPM), the Salvation Army and famines of Ahmedabad during the late 19th century. In 1900, W.Mulligan of Irish Presbyterian Bhil Mission, Jhalod mentioned about the sad condition of Jhalod Bhils, the Famine Work and saving Bhil Children. He mentioned about street kids picking up grains from dust threw by *Bania* Girls, wealthy Hindu population helping Bhils as an acts prompted by the feeling of a common humanity. This certainly showed that the Custom was corrupt and there were distinctions on the basis of class which further prevented their progress in true sense. G W Blair wrote about the very similar sounding words "Biladi"(a cat) and "Bhiladi"(a woman of Bheel Caste). IPM was in Gujarat since 1860 and Salvation Army (*Mukti Fauz*) arrived in 1884 against the wish of IPM. Rev. T M Hudson of Bombay wrote that the Army work in South India, Maharashtra and Ceylon to be far superior to that in Gujarat. Salvation Army also came up with its publication *Guzerati War Cry*. Major Fredrick St. George de Lautor Tucker popularly known as the Fakir Singh set in motion the work of Salvation army and was instrumental in converting thieves, Ganja Smokers and Opium Eaters. Dunlop then Revenue Commissioner (1830) has clearly written the Opium Trade ruled over the commerce of Ahmedabad City. The Ahmedabad famine issue (1899-1900) showing famine pictures and information has been covered in Bombay Guardian (BG) [41] that formed the chief source of information on Ahmedabad in the present context.

Slide 5.9: One of the front page of the Bombay Guardian

Slide: Facsimile Copy of front page of Bombay Guardian

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10   In 1825, a committee of four members was formed to collect a sort of tax on the imports of Ghee and Opium into the city and to use the proceeds in repairing the city walls. This provided the nucleus for the rise of the municipal body

11   Senseman, LA. *The Gujarat of Gandhi,* California, 1983., p.11

12   BG, 21 March 1896, p.10

13   BG, 26 July 1884

14   Ms. Balfour's name is mentioned.

15   They predominantly belonged to the tailor community.

16   BG, August 02, 1881, p.487

17   BG, 07 April 1888, p.210.

18   Letter by F.W. Casling mentions about the Salvation Army opened up at Ahmednagar in presence of Mrs and Major Tucker (BG, 23 February, 1884, p. 117)

19   BG, 09 February, 1884, p.86

20   BG, 26 January, 1884, p.53

21   BG, 31 May, 1884, p.338

22   BG, 14 June, 1884, p.376

23   BG, 27 September 1884, p.616

24   BG, 07 March 1896, pp. 9-10

25   Serious charges were brought against the salvationists in Gujarat by Rev. Ms. Gillespie and Beatty (BG, 24 May, 1884, p.322)

26   BG, 18 October, 1884, pp. 661-662

27   Presbyterian was the faith of Seventeenth Century Scottish Planters in Ulster.

28   BG, 17 February, 1900, p.11

29   BG, 13 January, 1900, p.11

30   BG, 03 February, 1900, p.4

31   Today's Santrampur Tahsil is in Mahisagar District.

32   McCormack, W J. *The Blackwell Companion to the Modern Irish Culture*, Oxford,1999., pp. 486-487

33   BG, 19 March, 1904, p.11

34   The Weeks General News (BG, 28 April, 1900, p.12)

35   BG 05 May 1900, p.11

36   File 1908 General Department, Plague. No. 123

37   He was special medical officer during some of the famine years in Ahmedabad

38   Letter dated 3rd October, 1908

39   Ahmedabad has as many as 27 ASI monuments – a high concentration for a single city.

40   Gillion, Kenneth L.,*Op.Cit.*

41   BG, April 1900, front Page.

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INTRICACIES OF ABSTRACT SYMBOLISM IN VATAPI CHALUKYAN ICONOGRAPHY

Dr. C. B. Kamati

Abstract

The term 'symbol' is derived from Greek word 'symbolon' synonymising contract, token, insignia and means of identification. Symbolization is a universal human process. Symbols are indicative of cultural prosperity. Culture in true sense itself is a symbol. In reality, the entire structure of civilizations is built upon these multifarious symbolic structures; Symbols are in disguised as well as reveled in form. Symbols are universal. They transcend history. There is unanimity in tracing the beginning of symbolist thought to Pre-historic era to the latter part of the Paleolithic Age. Ananda Coomarswamy says that 'Symbolism is the art of thinking in images'. Diel considers the symbols to be 'a precise and crystallized means of expression.' Marc Saunier points to an important characteristic of symbols when he states that they are 'the synthesizing expression of a marvelous science, now forgotten by men' but that 'they show us all that has been and shall be in one immutable form'.

The Vatapi Chalukyan Iconography is a complex embodiment of symbolism. It manifests socio-cultural and spiritual insights of the Pre-Chalukyan and Chalukyan era. The Research paper has explored the Intricacies of Vatapi Chalukyan Iconography through the lense of Structural Historiography.

(i)   Evolution of Symbolism in Chalukyan Iconography

(ii)   Ideological and Aesthetic Aspects of Chalukyan Symbolism

(iii)   Amalgamation of Symbols in Chalukan Sculpture

(iv)   Textual Substantiation of Chalukyan Symbolism

(v)   Implications of Symbols in typical Chalukyan Iconography

(vi)   Influence of Chalukyan Symbolism on ensuing Schools of Iconography

Key words : Ghanibhuta Bindu,VastuPurushaMandala,Pada,Jang

Introduction

As we all agree,"...the history of man is the history of his relationship with the environment." [1] For several centuries, the man being dictated by his environment, has gradually able to establish a kind of balance system, "...which we can't escape without the risk of upsetting everything."[2] When we try to appreciate a culture, and when that culture is the one in which we have grown-up or from which we have adopted our governing ideals, or from over familiarity to miss aspects or values of it which would strike an unaccustomed

eye,it is always useful as well as interesting to know how others see it."[3]In such appreciations, a very well evolved critical apparatus with sound holistic value shall enunciate the facts "... without distortion, preserve consistent standards of judgment, observe a certain effort of justice, sanity, measure."[4]

Evolution of Symbolism in Chalukyan Iconography: A Synthesis of Inheritance and Acquisition

Dr. D.C. Sircar believes "...the origin of the Chalukyas dates back to an indigenous Kannada family, coming from the state of Karnataka in the southern part of India, who had obtained the status of Kshatriyas (the noble caste in Hindu society)[5] This theory is thought to be accurate since the Chalukyan kings wanted the Kannada dialect to be used in both their language and literature. Inscriptions found throughout the Chalukya temples are written in Kannada, as well as in Sanskrit. Professor N. Laxminarayana Rao notes that "...some of the names of the Chalukya princes end in a typical Kannada regal suffix, arasa, (king or chief)"[6]However, Dr. A.F. Rudolf Hoernle believes "...their language is of a non-Sanskrit origin, as Chalukya is derived from a Turki root, chap (to gallop)".[7] The family name Chalukya is spelt in their inscriptions have been found recorded on rocks, caves, pillars, temples, images, walls, slabs, and tablets in various ways, such as, Chalkya, Chalikya, and Chalukya. Sircar believes the original name of their ancestors was Chalka, whereas Nilakanta Sastri suggests "...Chalkya was the original form and was later embellished to Chalukya. The Badami Chalukya Empire then came under the control of the Rashtrakuta Dynasty who ruled large parts of central and northern India between the sixth and tenth centuries. However, in 967 A.D., the Rashtrakuta Empire was defeated by Somesvara-I, the king of Kalyana Chalukya, and the Chalukyan capital was moved from Vatapi to Kalyani."[8]

Iconography is an important structure of art. It not only provides shape to living organisms and non-living objects, but also implies them with ideological and spiritual symbols comprising "...a mind no longer of mingled light and obscurity or half light, but a large clarity of the spirit. Its basic substance is a Unitarian sense of knowledge."[9]These symbols, if demystified, certainly constitute "...judicious pronouncements of value, reflective comments and perorations to works of art."[10] The iconography of Vatapi Chalukya art is a complex embodiment of symbols. A few renowned scholars have paid keen attention to the Chalukyan iconography during 1960's and 1970's. J.C.Harle , Odile Diwakaran, Garry Tarr,George Michell and M.A.Dakhey are prominent among them. In the Vatapi Chalukyan iconography, chronologically after 650 AD at Aivalli it is possible to discern among the seventy odd ruined shrines, successive phases of invention when different lay-outs and decorative schemes were apparently being tried".This trend has visible parallels , too."...In the Deccan, major examples of early medieval rock-cut shrines and structural shrines are found at several places in Karnataka."[12] At this stage of history, a structural model being already attained by the Chalukyas of Vatapi is evident "...only from about the beginning of the seventh century AD."[13] The formative phase "...is represented by northern and northen – Deccan sculpture. In the gradual course of its journey towards maturity, the Vatapi Chalukyan sculptors developed a southern style, more appropriately, the Dakshinatya."[14]   The Vatapi Chalukyas introduced a new

cheerfulness to the art sprectum of the region. The Vatapi Chalukyas "...left behind a cultural legacy that was uniquely local and simultaneously reflective of a regional trend."[15]

A Chronological Evolution of the Vatapi Chalukya Art

Phase	Nature	Prominent Feature
I	Formation (450AD to 535AD)	Pre-existing matrix and novel trends clearly identifiable
II	Operational Process (535to 610AD)	First tentative formulations of a new vogue
III	Maturity (610AD to 645AD)	Emergence of a new regional art
IV	Amagamation(645 AD to 750AD)	Integration of the Rashtrakuta art idioms

It should be remembered that "...long before natural phenomena and divine power were depicted in human form as gods, these principles had already been illustrated , usually in geographical patterns."[16] A similar tendency is to "...represent an idea, property or quality in the form of an object, plant animal or something else which is considered to possess the particular quality or property concerned. With regard to these emblems, there are obviously greater differences between various cultures than there are between the symbols in their purest form."[17]

Ideological and Aesthetic Aspects of Chalukyan Symbolism

The Vatapi Chalukya iconography consists largely of a synopsis of principles and characters represented in accordance with austere rules of nature. The pose, clothes, hairstyle, attributes and symbols surrounding the God are essentially derived from nature.The Shiva symbols represent a remarkable system of monistic theism based on thirty-six principles of Agamas. They regard the whole process of tatvas as an emanation of Shiva in descending order. Here the Shaiva Gods are being manifested in the form of the world.They transform them selves in to a character to play a role. His varying roles have"...contributed significantly to the development of aesthetic and literary theory."[18] The very language conception of these all "...aesthetic and literary theories is instinctive and constructive activity intrinsically bound up with the exercise of judgmental faculties.Therefore symbolism of the language on this view not the realistic representation of an externally given world but the construction of a world of which the deepest principles of construction are subjective but of which the objectivity can't be falsified by any objective test. The world of language thus is at once subjective and objective, constructed and yet pragmatically valid."[19] Nevertheless, attempts have been made to explain "...the myth as a specific symbolic form. Here we can envisage a kind of grammar of symbolic function as such which would encompass and generally help define its special terms and idioms as we encounter them in language and art, in myth and religion." [20]

Symbol	Implicit Meaning
Shiva with his Antelope on left hand	Lord of Nature
Shiva or Ganesha with Parashu or Battle Axe	Elimination of ignorance and liberty from all worldly tie-ups

A God with Banner or Dhvaja	The flaming lingam of the God Shiva
Brahma /Vishnu with Book or Pustaka	Wisdom and origin of all existence
Subramanya with Chisel or Tarika	A special attribute or manifestation of war God
Kali,Shiva,Ganesha,Skanda with Club or Gada	Natural laws and time
Vishnu or Shiva with Counch Shell or Shanka	A weapon to ward off demons.The spiraling in the Counch is symbolic of infinite space.If it expands in clock-wise direction, it belongs to Vishnu; if anti-clock-wise, Shiva
Shiva or Skanda with Mayura Patta or feather	Eternity or immortality
Fire in association to Shiva,Durga,Kali,Agni	A condition of the creation of new life
Fly Whisk or Chamara associated with Ganga	A brush of Yalk hair which repels undesirable vermin, particularly for the Goddess Ganga
Ankusha attributed to Ganesha or Skanda	Action and ability to distinguish spiritual motives to steer them
Lingam, Symbolic of God Shiva	Clear Consciousness, Omnipotence and formlessness of nature
Shiva with Mirror in one of his left hands/ Terrifying manifestations of Durga with Mirror in one of her left hands	Andryogynous aspect of Shiva-Ardhanareeshwara- Wisdom and emptiness of all worldy matters
Varuna or Surya under Parasol or Chatra	A symbol of paradise or Vaikuntha
Durga ,Ganesha and Shiva with Kapala or Skull Cycle of life and death	
Danda or Staff	Universal law of time
Vase or Kalasha:Trait of Brahma,Shiva,Lakshmi	Abundance, wisdom and immortality
Watering Can or Kamandala	Life fertility and wealth
Chakra:Attributed to Vishnu and Surya	Cycle of life and death

The task of the historian is to penetrate in to the sense of all the various symbolism. "...Behind arbitrary symbols lies the natural symbolism of consciousness as a whole which is necessarily contained or atleast projected in every single moment or fragment of consciousness. This natural symbolism operates differently in different cultural forms."(21)Under a symbolic form"... should be understood each energy of spirit through which a spiritual content or meaning is connected with a concrete sensory sign and is internally adopted to this sign." (22) A symbolic form then has an internal bond between a universal meaning and the particularly sensory sign in which the meaning lies. The symbol is at once inseparably spiritual and sensible.The historian must maintain a distance a distance from critical systems and from critical systems and from the dogmas and orthodoxies of the dominant culture. He should

have freedom of consciousness and responsiveness to history,to the exigencies of the text to political, social and human values to the heterogeneity of human experience.

Amalgamation of Symbols in Chalukyan Sculpture

The Chalukyan symbolism in the structural implications is largely governed by the sculptural configura tion of the mûla beras. The forms of the mûla beras is definite in proportions because they are shaped according to the dhyâna úlokas of the deities prescribed clearly in the Úilpa Úâstras. In other words, the mûla beras are made strictly following the iconographical rules and measurements. "...These all rules govern the method of representing the gods with exact precision. In the field of sculptural measurement of the divine images, there is the measurement called tâlamâna which not only ensures the symmetrical beauty and the artistic grace of the image but also imparts unique spiritual meaning and symbol ism to the divine images. This grammar of measurement prescribes a perfect system of measurement in the parts of the body of the deity. The conception of the plumblines, the linear measurements, the space measurements and the poses or deviations from the vertical median, controls the modeling of images. A sculptor who wishes to represent the deity in any other way deviating from the custom or the dhyâna úlokas would be accused of ignorance of his profession, and of violating the laws of the religion.

Moreover, the worship to the divine image would be stopped because an icon which is not made in accordance with the rules would lack power and divine grace and hence, not be revered. It is clear that the structural composition of the mûlaberas always follows the strict rules by which the universal and cosmic can be presented through an individualized representation. Furthermore, it is observed that the worshipper believes in the life giving power of the consecrated images when the images show structural perfection."[23] According to Sri Aurobindo, " a symbol express a living truth or inward vision belonging to the domain of intellectual abstraction and precision that it cannot be brought out except through symbolic images.: The legendary characters, savitri, Satyavan, Aswapathy, and Dyu matsena are the principal symbols of the epic. The recurrent symbolic images are the night, the sun and the fire."[24] Hence it is necessary to realize the matter of the fact that"...natural art , when alive, indeed to be alive at all is simply the art of manipulating a procession of most delicate symbols."[25] Hence God is the name, and work of art is the body and house in which the Fotrmlessness, Beyond – Form, the Goal of Release and the source of all form reveals itself. The statues and temples are stations on the Road. They are meant to be seen while moving, from image to image, in to the sanctuary, in a straight line of procession from the light of day in to deepening super luminous darkness, and they are meant to be seen while moving around them in magic circles of recogn ition and comprehension."[26]

Textual substantiation of Chalukyan Symbols : A Value Assessment of Implications and influence

Theism, agnosticism, indifference, the loosening of caste restrictions,and a tendency to materialism contrast with the superstitions of the masses "...who remain content with the

coarse old phallic symbolism and are ignorant of the ancient philosophic speculations on which that symbolism often depends."(27) Avanti Sundari Katha of Dandi discloses symbols surrounding Shiva in befitting Sanskritik dialect.It makes oblique references to temples at "...Aihole in Karnataka."(28) The Chalukyan Architecture "...is exclusively religious, and its temples are easily recognized. The plans comprise the same elements as that of Jainas, but the Chalukyan shrine is always star shaped, externally in plan, and the vitana takes the form of a stepped pyramid instead of a curved outline."(29) In caves, "...kapota supports the cave floor.The platform is conceived as miniature lower story beneath the temple." (30) 'Vikramanka Deva Charita' of Bilhana and 'Manasollasa' of Someshwara III vividly explain the significance of Chalukyan symbols quite suffusely. "Recently, another work of Someshwara III 'Vikramankabhyudaya' also has come to light." (31)

All ingredients and alternatives of Indian architectural classifications are found in the pioneering works of Fergusson. Fergusson found a good disciple in James Burgess. They together studied Elephanta,monuments in the regions such as Kathiwad,Kutch, Maharashtra and Karnataka"(32)Following the foot prints, Alexander Rea made painstaking drawings of Chalukyan and Pallava paintings.In his studies on the Dravidian Architecture Joveaeu Dubreuil introduced the comparative study of ornamental motifs, prepared highly perceptive studies.He also used craftsman's terms as were used by the Tamilians."(33) The image may be defined as the immediate object of vivid apprehension. In art, "...its ontic status remains as undetermined as the epistemic status of its apprehension. Nevertheless, the image appears to belong to a coherent whole, and is characterized by an imponderable expressiveness.It also invites judgement with reference to ideal standards. The image word is autonomous but not arbitrary.It has a sensuous vividness but an ideal expressiveness."(34)In this context, on may even say that the Chalukyan sculptors were among the greatest creators of Hindu iconography. The Chalukyan art was influenced greatly by the Gupta art.The doorframes of temples have since Gupta and post-Gupta times been carved with various bands of decorative freezes.Varaha Mihira in his Brihat Samhita goes in to details of these decorations, such as freizes with auspicious birds and hamsas (mangalyavibhag), auspicious trees (sree vriksha), of full vessels (purna ghata), of patravali (floral scroll work, and of romantic scenes(mithunas)"(35).Silpa Prakasa mentions about 'Vajramastaka' symbol which began to emerge during the latter Gupta period as a round gavaksha window, dominated or not by a lion face, and was appropriately called 'grasa' or 'kirtimukha'. The term 'keertimukha' is derived from the sun windows or openings (mukha) of a chaitya hall rock excavation(kirti).The round window with a lion head on top on the face of cave shrines was gradually conventionalized in to a decorative motif applied to the front of the temples.In puranic literature, the symbol 'vajramastaka' is referred to as 'pancha vaktra'(lionface)."...It was believed that the security of a temple depended on the strength and stability of this element, and its destruction in any manner signified the collapse of the monument containing it. Silpa Prakasa has given it appropriate name of 'vajra mastaka'.In the vajra doctrine prevalent then in tantric schools, the vajra denoted diamond like solidity , which could not be fractured even by lightening.The symbol was placed on the front of the sikhara in conspicuous dimensions , but also on the base of temples or doorjambs in smaller size." (36)

Alice Boner discovered a uniform geometric foundation for a certain genre of sculptural relief that appears in Indian art of the 6th - 9th centuries. "...Her theory is convincing in its general applicability and the kind of intellectual coherence that it gives to this work. Though she does not say so, and apparently no one has previously tried to check, we have seen that she applied these principles to her own work. The triptych shows the geometric form in three ways – simple, complex, and imaginative, in keeping with its three subjects, using each of the three types of circle division appearing in the temple panels." (37)

Silpa Prakasa : An Evident Textual Substantiation of a Few Symbols Symbol Significance

Ghanibhuta Bindu	Pregnance of all elements that constitute the totality of mani festation often set at the centre in the centre of a hexagram or in a circular mandala or yantra or within a sphere Concentration and conde nsation of all divine and creative forces from where the mani festation of the universe takes its beginninggs.In this point, the creative will of the Supreme is latent and potential, always ready to proliferate in to infinite expansion of the universe.
VastuPurusha Mandala	A concentric yantra mostly square mostly a square divided in to 64 (8x8) or 81(9x9) squares, the seats of 45 divinities. They are the primordial elements out of which the universe is evolved
Pada	The base, the first element of the temple, a vital foundation necessary for any ascent
Panchakarma	The second part, where begins the elevation comprising five elements placed one above the other, Khura(hoof), Khumbha(pitcher), Dhamaru (drum),Vasanata(spring), Kulika(roundish crest)
Jangha	Succeeding part above the pancha karma is the vertical wall called bada or bhitti, a compartment alization of the structure through a number of narrow vertical wall sections, three, five, seven, nine on every side projectinf stepwise in the form of pilasters divided by deep clefts. These pilaster like elements are called jangha.They symbolize the legs of Mahapurusha.
Bandhani	Bandhani is a belt above the jangha, running around the whole temple and holding all sectional parts together like a waist belt laid around the hips. It symbolizes integration.
Girbhagriha	Above the upper bandhana is the garbhaka or sikhara,Garbhaka means womb and sikhara means spire.Garbhaka implies the idea of inner trunk cavity of the Mahapurusha with his viscereal parts,especially his heart,the sacred symbol.Sikhara, the outer structure represents trunk
Amalaka	Above the circular neck, exists amalaka,- the stainless, the pure , the head of the Mahapurusha

The Vastu Purusha Upnishad attributed the Pippalada Kalpa of Atharva Veda presents a challenge to various disciplines, to the indologists because it is the first text on Shilpa or Vastu called an Upanishad, to the historia because it reveals a situation in which image worship has still to defend against the predominance of Vedic ritual, and therefore its dating and historical position is very difficult to ascertain, to the linguist because the text contains archaic and popular elements, and the Sanskrit is rather very poor so as to leave many ambiguities;ultimately to the research scholar in Silpa who will find it an approach to the study of Indian figurative art quite different from that of the known Shilpa Sastras since it doesn't contain rules for producing particular forms of art, but analyses the very principles and processes of form figuration.

This forementioned body of structure"...is an organic as well as psychical entity which establish relationship with space above and around,"(38) Thus any temple structure cannot be viewed in isolation from the most significant framework of the philosophic thought and the psychical concerns of the Indian people.The influence of Chalukyan art, especially its plastic art is evident in the plastic quality of the sculptured figures and the decorative motifs at Mukhalingam temples affiliated to Orissian style."... Madhukeshwar temple depicts the influence of classical Gupta idiom as modified by the Chalukyan Chalukyan-Orissian styles in doorways". (39) The three cave temples carved out at Badami comprising"...dancing Siva and Vishnu Trivikrama, who recovers the universe from the demons in his dwarf incarnation,were the figures which directly influenced Pallava art as shown by the sculptures of the Rathas(chariots) at Mahabalipuram which were cut out of solid rock at the behest of Pallava soon after they captured Badami "(40)

The Chalukyan architects also elaborately followed 'Manasara' an elaborate treatise on architecture written during the Gupta period of Indian history, especially-profusely 'bhumi lamba vidhana'.The significance of 'Manasara' here is in its system of proportionate measurement. "...Though it's normative approach is similar to other texts, its descriptive content attributed to its concern with Indian royalties, royal palaces and temples is unique"(41) Manasara was the earliest recensions of Vastusastra, and therefore formed the foundation of a pan-Indian body of texts.The two translated versions of the original Sanskrit text, 'Essay on the Architecture of the Hindu '(1834) by a magistrate from Bangalore Ram Raz and 'Architecture of Manasara' (1918-46) as a seven volume series by P.K. Acharya.

Not surprisingly, application of Manasara's "...complicated formulae to studies of Indian architecture and planning have become popular lines of research. In post independent Inida, it has even become fashionable for practicing architects to apply the planning principles found in Vastu Sastra to contemporary architecture."(42)

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PROTECTING THE UN-BANNERED CHARIOTS: A STUDY OF EARLY INDIAN LEGAL AND WELFARE MEASURES FOR THE WELL-BEING OF WIDOWS

Dr. Punit
Benudhar Patra

Abstract

Throughout the recorded period of Indian history, widowhood remains a phenomenon that causes hearts to tremble. In early India, this fear was generated not only by the perennial anguish over the death of one's husband but also by the consequences of his death. These consequences included degraded social status, financial uncertainties, risk of sexual exploitation, damage to property etc. Because of these challenges, widows were counted among the vulnerable sections of society. Hence, efforts were made by lawgivers and charitable establishments for their protection, well-being, and dignity. These legal and welfare efforts are examined in this research paper. The reason for undertaking this enquiry is that this dimension is seldom explored by the researchers. This study reveals that dignity in family life and protection of property was attempted to achieve by means of punishments, social censure, and utilising a fear about future births. Moreover, there existed charitable establishments which operated with an objective of offering basic necessities to widows who were bereft of family support. The findings of this paper add to our understanding of early Indian social history in general, and different aspects of widowhood in particular.

Key words: legal protection, security of property, subsistence, employment, charitable establishments.

Introduction

"A banner is the chariot's mark, a fire by smoke is known, Kingdoms by kings, a wedded wife by husband of her own. O terrible is widowhood!"[1]. A little more than some two millennia ago, the state of a woman in her widowhood was surmised in these words. However, this is not an isolated instance as similar views are expressed by other texts as well. In the *Mahâbhârata* a queen named Bhadra mourns the death of her husband by saying, "…Women serve no purpose when their husbands are dead; she is a dead woman that survives her lord, dragging on a wretched misery that is no life, but a terrible death…the woman who lives for even a moment after her husband's death lives only in Naraka"[2]. To a reader, such views depicting disproportionate importance of husbands may appear surprising and distasteful given the fact when two people marry, there are good chances that one of them would pre-decease the other. But in the early Indian patriarchal societies, the death of a husband was nothing short of a disaster because for the rest of her life, his wife was ill-fated to face numerous difficulties, particularly in supporting, protecting, and educating her children[3]. Instances from the primary sources of this study makes it clear that widows lived

in a condition of an overall vulnerability. Consequently, the lawgivers and charity establishments tried to ameliorate their position. Their efforts resulted in welfare measures directed at the widows with an aim to secure them a dignified life. This paper is an attempt to examine those measures in a period beginning with the Later Vedic age (*c.* 1000 BCE) to the decline of the imperial Guptas (early sixth century CE).

Rationale of the Study

Arguing for recognising and studying different categories of women, Kumkum Roy once remarked that women are not a homogenous and unified category[4]. This heterogeneity is caused by several factors e.g., age, marriage, children (or their absence), economic status etc. These factors, in turns, create different categories of women such as queens, courtesans, daughters, wives, women with children and those bereft of them, widows etc. Despite all being women, they had varying needs, interests, issues, benefits, vulnerabilities etc. Thus, this heterogeneity deserves to be accommodated. As argued by Kumkum Roy, it is "necessary to come at terms with heterogeneity, to ensure that we did not suppress differences in trying to retrieve our version of pasts"[5]. As it is difficult to study these diverse groups in one single enquiry, this paper focuses only on one group of women i.e., the widows. Image of a widow is pretty simple: a woman whose husband is dead. But this image is the only simple thing as far as widows in Indian history are concerned. Despite being women, their challenges, concerns, rights etc. have remained different from rest of the womenfolk. For example, in early Indian societies, as long a woman's husband was alive, she enjoyed considerable social freedoms. But if he predeceased her, the same social domain was out of her reach. Along with that, there were issues of livelihood, little or no support from family and relatives, no rights to property, curtailed social status, and in worst case, immolation in the funeral pyre of her husband. These factors, which are largely faced by the widows alone, set them apart from rest of the womenfolk. Hence, widows deserve to be studied as an important sub-category. As far as the rationale for studying the early Indian legal and welfare measures is concerned, it is well known that widows faced acute miseries in the form of considerable exploitation ranging from physical harm, sexual exploitation to damage to property. To mitigate these, arrangements were made by the lawgivers and charity-oriented people. These can be broadly divided into three categories: first, legal provisions for security and dignity of aged women and the mechanisms utilised for their enforcement; second, efforts towards ensuring the security of property; and third, welfare measures by the state and actions of charity establishments. This paper is an attempt to gain insights into these mechanisms. Nevertheless, it must be highlighted that not all the widows needed protection and welfare because a number of variables caused considerable differences in their condition. These variables emerged because women being "young/old, poor/rich, with/without children, with/without relatives"[6]. However, in this paper the differences are of little concern as legal provisions and welfare measures were equally applicable to all widows irrespective of their status.

Locale of the Enquiry

The area of interest in this research paper, i.e. the North India roughly corresponds to what was popularly known as the land of the Âryas of the early history. However, the

perceptions about the extension of this landmass kept on varying. To begin with, defining the land of the Âryas, one of the earliest legal texts, i.e. the *Baudhâyana Dharmasûtra* states, "The region to the east of where the Sarasvatî disappears, west of Kâlaka forest, south of Himalayas, and north of Pâriyâtra mountains is the land of Âryas."[7] While the *Vasicmha Dharmasûtra* accepts the region lying south of the Himalayas and north of the Vindhya mountains as the land of the Âryas[8], yet expressing other opinions, it states, "According to some, the land of the Âryas is the region between the Ganges and Yamunâ. According to others, Vedic splendour extends as far as the black antelope roams"[9]. The *Baudhâyana Dharmasûtra* states that the lands of Avanti, AEga, Magadha, Surâcmra, the Deccan, Upâvr%t, Sindh and Sauvîra share borders with the land of the Âryas.[10] Mapping the expansion, the *Manu Sm[ti* is of the opinion that the land between the Himalayas and the Vindhya ranges extending from the eastern to the western sea is what known as the Âryavrata (the region of the Âryas)[11]. This description in the *Manu Sm[ti* roughly corresponds to the contemporary perceptions about the expansion of North India which is a landmass limited by the Himalayas in the North, Vindhyas in the Souths, and two oceans in the East and West directions.

Time Period of the Study

This paper studies a period of early Indian history ranging from 1000 BCE to 500 CE. In Indian history, the former period roughly marks the beginning of the Later Vedic period while the latter denotes a period when the mighty Gupta empire was gradually declining. However, it is necessary to understand the rationale for the selection of this period. Prior to 1000 BCE, India witnessed the emergence of Indus Valley Civilisation and the Rigvedic Civilisation. The former witnessed the rise of sophisticated urban centres about which archaeological excavations say aplenty. However, as its script remains undeciphered, we are at a disadvantage as far as gaining deeper insights into their social life is concerned. The Rigvedic period in India is believed to have started somewhere around 1500 BCE. This period is named so because the first of the four Vedas[12] i.e., the Rigveda is said to have composed over a period of five centuries. Despite its immense literary value, we are at a loss as far as the theme of this paper is concerned. It is so because discussion about widows is anything but rare. It is only after *c.* 1000 BCE, when the other Vedas and associated literature was composed, widows appeared in the discussions. Selection of *c.* 500 CE as the terminating period of this study rests on two grounds. Firstly, as per a general belief among the historians, this is said to be the time which tentatively marks the beginning of the early medieval period of Indian history[13]. Secondly, after the decline of the Gupta empire, several regional empires emerged in India. As they were patrons of art and literature, we are left with several sources which have analysed by the scholars. Consequently, we have significant information of the period beginning with the *c.* sixth century CE. Because of the above highlighted limitations, this paper examines the aspects related to widowhood in a period beginning with *c.* 1000 BCE to *c.* 500 CE.

Research Methodology

The selection of research methodology poses a serious question for this period of Indian history. Traditionally, historians rely on diverse sources such as literary texts, epigraphs,

archaeological excavations, paintings, sculptures etc. Deriving information from them and corroborating it is a preferred method. However, when it comes to our theme as well as the period under consideration, we face serious problems. The major issue with this theme is that widows were seldom at the focus of our sources. From these, extraction of information and establishing its credibility remains a challenging task. Other major issue is that sources other than the literary ones, for example epigraphs, archaeological remains, painting etc. suffer from two limitations: first, a large number of them is either lost, destroyed, or remain undiscovered; and second, most of the times they are not concerned with widows. In this manner, an enquiry that studies widows is left with no option but to rely on the available literary sources. But this reliance poses a challenge. To understand it, we can take example of the legal codes of early India which are categorised as *dharmasûtras* and *dharmaúâstras*. These texts, which covered nearly all the aspects of social life, are believed to have been composed by learned scholars. While they are repeatedly analysed to obtain the relevant information, Tamara Ditrich highlights their one major shortcoming. Taking example of *Manu Sm[ti*, she says, "Laws of Manu is the priests' vision of how life should be lived, reflecting to some extent the social circumstances of that time: we do not know how the text was really applied, but a large part of it was probably wishful thinking rather than a description of reality."[14] Her comprehension certainly carries weight if we look into other legal texts. For instance, one such text namely the *B[haspati Sm[ti* says that at times, aberration from the "letter of the law" was allowed[15]. Thus, it can be safely deduced everything that is written in the literary sources, particularly in the legal text, may not have been necessarily applied. However, this leaves us with a bigger problem i.e., non-literary sources do not mention widows while the credibility of the literary texts is still not full-proof. This paper tries to solves this challenge by deploying comparative analysis across the works of diverse genre i.e., epics, dramas, poems, short stories, novel, legal texts etc. In this method, the information derived from one genre is compared across multiple genres. If certain information is observed in multiple texts with a good degree of similarity, then only it is perceived as authentic.

Circumstances Leading to the Emergence of Protective Measures

To properly examine the protective and welfare measures aimed at widows, it is important to gain insights into the circumstances that led to their emergence. Our sources repeatedly highlight that the position of aged parents in early Indian households was vulnerable. Here, we must clarify that most of our sources do not separately focus on widows; rather, the word "parents" is combinedly used to denote mother as well as father. It is so because an individual's mother had no separate identity from his father[16]. Because of this, whenever the word "parents" is used in this discussion, it automatically includes widowed mothers. Continuing on the vulnerabilities of aged parents, these ranged from disobedience, misbehaviour, and physical hurt to a complete abandonment. Reflecting on the issue of disobedience, the *Mahâbhârata* observes, "…The Rishis say that a disobedient son is no son at all. But the son who obeys his parents, always seeking their welfare, being agreeable to them, is indeed is the true son"[17]. Underlining the problem of people neglecting their aged mothers, the epic says, "…the son who does not look after his widowed mother faces disgrace"[18]. Apart from these, it reveals that occasionally the parents faced the risk of injuries and physical hurts at the

hands of their children[19]. From the *Jâtakas*, we find that in some of the cases, widows were abandoned by their sons[20]. Overall, contrary to popular belief among scholars, these challenges highlight that the position of parents, particularly that of a father[21], was not very strong. In reality, they depended on their offspring. While the problems discussed so far were common to aged mothers as well as fathers, yet the position of widows was particularly shaky in property matters. For example, the *Arthaúâstra* indicates that the wealthy widows could easily be robbed of their possessions[22]. The *Manu Sm[ti*[23], the *VicGu Dharmaúâstra*[24], the *Nârada Sm[ti*[25], the *KâtyâyaGa Sm[ti*[26] etc. reveal that relatives of a widow such as the sons, the brothers-in-law, and kinsmen on the paternal side could potentially infringe upon her property. Because of these manifold vulnerabilities, a trend of setting expectations in favour of serving and protecting the aged parents emerged. While most of the lawgivers proceeded towards achieving the same objective, yet they varied in their approach. Some of them utilised a fear of degraded future births as a consequence of misbehaving with parents while others imposed fines and declared such actions as socially censurable.

Protective Approach I: Ethical and Religious Censure

Among the texts that primarily utilised the fear of the future births for ascertaining dignity to aged people, the *Mahâbhârata* is the earliest. It begins by declaring that an individual's parents are very valuable and they are to be respected under all circumstances. As stated in it, "One's parents, the sacred fire, the soul and the spiritual Guru—these five, good Brahmana, are worthy of the highest reverence by a person who seeks prosperity. By serving them properly, one acquires the punya of perpetually keeping the sacred fire burning. It is the eternal duty of all grihastas"[27]. Elaborating the impacts of disobeying and disrespecting one's parents, it says, "…The son of the father's loins and the mother's womb, raised by them, who does not support them in his turn when he comes of age, incurs the sin of killing and unborn child, and there is no greater sinner in the world than him"[28]. Explaining the consequences of this sin, it observes, "That son with whom his parents become angry has to be born as a donkey, live that life for ten months. He is next born as a dog and remains one for fourteen months. He is then born as a cat and after living as a cat for seven months he is born as a man again. He who speaks ill of his parents takes birth as a sarika. If a son strikes his parents, O king, he is born a tortoise. Living as a tortoise for ten years, he is next born as a porcupine. After that he becomes a snake, and living for six months in that form he regains the condition of humanity"[29]. Elsewhere it declares, "Furious dogs of frightful mien, crows with iron beaks, flocks of ravens and vultures and other dark birds, and blood-sucking worms torment the man who transgresses the commands of his parents and preceptors when he goes to hell after death"[30]. A text that propagated and promoted the idea of rebirths, such notions about degraded future births could have successfully influenced people. Similar tactic is also utilised by the *Manu Sm[ti*. Underlining the high status accorded to an individual's mother, it says, "Teacher, father, mother, and older brother—these should never be treated with contempt especially by a Brahmin, even though he may be deeply hurt"[31]. Contrasting the accomplishments of those who served their elders to those who did not, the *Manu Sm[ti* states, "When someone has attended to these three, he has attended to all his duties; should someone not attend to them, all his rites bear him no fruit"[32]. These achievements must be

interpreted while keeping that belief in sight according to which obedience to these three is declared as the "the highest form of ascetic toil"[33] and "A householder who does not neglect these three will win the three worlds; and, shining with his own body, he will rejoice in heaven like a god"[34].

Protective Approach II: Punishments and Social Censure

Among the texts that recommended fines and punishment as a method to ensure a good behaviour towards the widows, the *Arthaúâstra* is the earliest. It states, "When a person who has the capacity does not provide for his children, wives, mother, father, brothers who are minors, or unmarried and widowed sisters, he should be fined 12 Panas, unless they have fallen from their caste…"[35]. Going further, the text designs a mechanism for the implementation of this provision. In one of the chapters titled "The Duties of Government Superintendents", the *Arthaúâstra* ascribes the officers a duty of punishing those people, other than an apostate (*patita*), who ignore their responsibilities towards the widows despite being in a position to fulfil them[36]. Similarly, underscoring the need for the protection, the *Manu Sm[ti* suggests, "The king should protect the estate inherited by a child until he has returned home after his studentship or until he is no longer a minor. The same protection must be extended to barren women, women without sons or bereft of family, women devoted to their husbands, widows, and women in distress"[37]. A similar recommendation in the *VicGu Dharmaúâtra* goes as follows, "The king must protect the property of minors, of (blind, lame or other) helpless persons (who have no guide), and of women (without a guardian)"[38]. While the *VicGu Dharmaúâtra* does not specifies anything beyond this suggestion, the *Manu Sm[ti* attempts to ensure that its advices were heeded and implemented by families. It endorses that the dependent members of a family were not to be abandoned unless they had fallen from their castes[39]. Charting out the punishment for abandoning them without a reason, the text declares, "A mother, father, wife, or son ought never to be abandoned. Anyone who abandons these when they have not fallen from their caste shall be fined 600 by the king"[40]. Despite this provision for a monetary punishment, the *Manu Sm[ti* relies more on social censure to ensure implementation. It reminds that a son was reprehensible "if he fails to guard his mother when her husband is dead"[41]. However, it does not restrain itself only to this caution. Going further, it announces that a person "who repudiates his father, mother, or teacher without good reason"[42] was not eligible for inviting at the occasion of ancestral offerings. Here, we must remember that rituals were important and prestigious part of life. If an individual was not allowed to participate in them, then it was a big setback for his social standing. In the similar fashion, the *B[haspati Sm[ti* asserts that "a son who does not support his mother…deserve contempt and shall be punished as ordained in law"[43]. Additionally, it states that a son was blameworthy and deserved punishment if he did not support his mother. While we have no effective way to understand the impact of social censure on ensuring a dignified life to the widows, yet a comparison with the modern societies can offer some insights. For example, in context of the contemporary Jain societies, it is highlighted that special attention is paid to the widows of a family[44]. M. Whitney Kelting says that it is done to protect and maintain a family's social prestige. She argues, "To have a family widow appear in public in ragged clothing or malnourished is shameful and will certainly lead to the community's suspicion about the family.

Not allowing a family widow access to religious events (a strategy that could be used to hide abuse from the public eye) is suspected, as well, and could lead to the kinds of gossips and speculation that hurt family prestige and standing"[45]. As the fear of social censure successfully modifies behaviour in our contemporary societies, the possibility of the same can't be denied in the early societies as well.

Measures for the Protection of Property

Apart from the above discussed efforts towards ensuring a dignified life, protection of property was another major issue for the lawgivers. This legal protection can be comprehended better by understanding the nature of property that could be owned by widows. In early Indian societies, property received from husband's inheritance and the *strî-dhana* (literally, woman's property) were two main forms of properties for women. However, a majority of lawgivers did not allow women to receive their husbands' inheritance (partially or fully) if the couple had sons. It leaves *strî-dhana* as the main form of property and significant efforts were made to strengthen their hold over it in their widowhood. It is worth highlighting that the exact composition of the *strî-dhana* kept changing over time, but some constituents, e.g., ornaments were generally a part of it. Offering legality to the hold of widows over their ornaments, the *Manu Sm[ti* states, "Any ornaments worn by a woman while her husband was alive shall not be partitioned by his heirs; if they do, they fall from their caste"[46]. Elsewhere, to curb such tendencies, it recommends for imposing a penalty 'if their in-laws usurp their property while they are alive, a righteous king should discipline them with the punishment laid down for thieves"[47]. Likewise, the *B[haspati Sm[ti* warns, "Should agnates (*Sapindas*) or cognates (*Bândhavas*) or enemies injure the property [of the widows], let the king inflict on them the punishment destined for a thief"[48]. A warning similar to that of the *Manu Sm[ti* against dividing the ornaments is also there in the *VicGu Dharmaúâstra* with a provision for penalty of losing one's castes if this recommendation was ignored[49]. While the texts discussed so far focussed on social measures to ensure the protection of the *strî-dhana*, a few of the texts resorted to financial penalties. For example, the *Nârada Sm[ti* specifies, "A wife, a daughter-in-law, a grandson's wife, and the presents bestowed on a wife (which constitute her separate property): if a man takes any of these, he shall be made to pay the debts (of such women)"[50]. An elaborate discussion over this dimension is there in the *KâtyâyaGa Sm[ti*. Clarifying about the hold of women over the *strî-dhana*, it says, "Neither the husband, nor the son, nor the father, nor the brothers have authority (or power) over *strîdhana* for the purpose of taking it (for themselves) or for giving it away (to other). If anyone of these forcibly consumes *strî-dhana* he should be made to return it with interest and should also be liable to a fine"[51]. Explaining the logic of this recommendation, the *KâtyâyaGa Sm[ti* states, "The husband, the sons, and the brother-in-law and kinsmen on the paternal side of a woman are declared to have no power over her *strîdhana* while she is alive"[52]. Hence, those who deprived a widow of her property were to be punished. Overall, this discussion shows that the security of the *strîdhana* was of considerable importance for the lawgivers and continuous efforts were made in this direction. However, we have no information pertaining to the effectiveness of such attempts.

Welfare Measures for Widows

Apart from the above-discussed protective measures, various efforts were made to arrange the basic needs for supportless widows i.e., those who were bereft of support from sons, in-laws, paternal families etc. Recognising their difficulties, the *Mahâbhârata* draws the attention of kings towards the difficulties of aged widows and other vulnerable people. As stated in the text, "If the king did not exercise the duty of protection, the strong would by force appropriate the possessions of the weak… Men would disregard or even injure their own aged parents, their very acharyas, guests and elders"[53]. Similar advice is rendered by the *Arthaúâstra* in which advising a king, it states, "The king should, moreover, provide for children, old people, those fallen into misfortune, and the helpless, as also the women who have not borne children and the sons of women who have borne children"[54]. Another provision of the *Arthaúâstra* aims at offering widows some opportunities to earn subsistence. It advices the Superintendent of Yarns that widows could be employed in the weaving industries[55]. As stated in it, "He should employ secluded women- women whose husbands have gone away, widows, crippled women and spinsters- who wish to maintain themselves to carry out the work, being considerate by sending his own female slaves. Or else, if they come the yarn workshop on their own, he should arrange for the payment of wages in exchange for the wares early in the morning"[56]. This provision marks a conscious effort on part of the *Arthaúâstra* to arrange subsistence for vulnerable people. Advocacy of caring for these people was also made by Saint Thomas when he visited India in *c.* first century CE. To king Gondophorus, he offered the following advice, "Let now your goods profit the widows, the poor and the sick, and know for sure that they will be kept for you a hundredfold"[57]. While we can't ascertain the extent to which these recommendations were heeded, yet we can establish that widows were in need of welfare measures. Apart from the efforts of the state, efforts of charitable institutions were another source of relief to widows. This information is reflected from the accounts of Chinese travellers.

When Fa Hian visited Pâtlîputra in the *c.* fifth century CE, recording the charitable deeds of certain merchant families, he said that these people had established "houses for dispensing charity and medicines. All the poor and destitute in the country, orphans, widowers, and childless men, maimed people and cripples, and all who are diseased, go to those houses, and are provided with every kind of help, and doctors examine their diseases. They get the food and medicines which their cases require, and are made to feel at ease; and when they are better, they go away of themselves"[58]. While widows are not mentioned in his account, presence of charities and dependence of vulnerable people on them is visible. Hiuen-Tsang, while travelling in India during the *c.* seventh century CE, also observed charities in numerous towns that focussed on welfare of downtrodden people. Narrating one such establishments in the town of Mo-yu-lo, he says, "Benevolent kings have founded here 'a house of merit' (*puGyaúhâlâ*). This foundation is endowed with funds for providing choice food and medicines to bestow in charity on widows and bereaved persons, on orphans and the destitute"[59]. At another town namely Po-lo-ye-kia (Prayâga), he reports, "From old time till now, the kings and noble families, whenever they had occasion to distribute their gifts in charity, ever came to this place, and here gave away their goods; hence it is called *the great charity enclosure*"[60].

Elaborating the donations made by a king named Úîlâditya-râjâ (identified with King Harchavardhana), he writes, "At the present time Úîlâditya-râjâ, after the example of his ancestors, distributes here in one day the accumulated wealth of five years. Having collected in this space of the *charity enclosure* immense piles of wealth and jewels, on the first day he adorns in a very sumptuous way a statue of Buddha, and then offers to it the most costly jewels. Afterwards he offers his charity to the residentiary priests…and lastly, to the widows and bereaved, orphans and desolate, poor and mendicants"[61]. From our discussion in this section, it is amply clear that to ensure welfare of widows, state and charity-oriented individuals made conscious effort. Among these, these working of charities at the place of pilgrimage appears to be successful given the fact that such places attract large number of supportless people even in our contemporary time.

Conclusion

Our analysis in this paper reveals that the most dramatic change introduced by widowhood in a woman's life was that she came under the guardianship of her sons (if any) and other relatives. This was an uncertain situation *vis a vis* the guardianship of her husband as there was no guarantee whether these people would support her or not. While there were people who took great care of their widowed dependents, yet this study also finds that ignoring duties towards these women was also a well-known phenomenon. This not only caused a loss of dignity and threats to property but also left some of the widows bereft of basic necessities. The legal provisions that emerged in response to this situation had a continuous presence throughout the early period of history. For the implementation of these provisions, various mechanisms were utilised. For example, the *Mahâbhârata* tied better prospects of an individual's future births to his obedience, service, and respect of his elders. On the other hand, a number of other texts resorted to social censure and punishments. Despite these arrangements, there were some widows who were completely supportless because either they were abandoned by their families or they had no relatives at all. Welfare of these women was sought through charitable establishments operated by rich individuals and kings. Data examined for this enquiry indicates a concentration of such establishments at prominent cities only. Hence, the relief offered by them was limited in scope. Despite this, these charities must have offered a welcome relief to the downtrodden people in general, and widows in particular. To conclude, we can say that the early Indian societies, despite their conservative approach towards women, attempted to ensure the well-being of widows through various legal and welfare measures. The extent to which these measures were successful is a matter of further research.

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A GLIMPSE INTO HARAPPAN HEALTH: EXPLORING DISEASES AND MEDICAL PRACTICES

Dr. Siddharth R. Dawane

Abstract

The Harappan Civilization, also known as the Indus Valley Civilization or now called Sindhu Sarasvati civilization, stands as the earliest recognized urban civilization on the Indian subcontinent and the largest of the four ancient civilizations, alongside Egypt, Mesopotamia, and China. The extensive archaeological excavations conducted in these sites during the 19th and 20th centuries have provided invaluable insights into the Harappan civilization's advanced technology, art, trade, transportation, writing, religion, and healthcare system. The inhabitants of the Indus Valley Civilization demonstrated a profound understanding of medicine, employing a variety of herbs and drugs to treat diseases. The archaeological evidence reveals significant aspects of how the Harappans accessed food, and clean water, maintained hygienic practices, and established public amenities. These findings highlight the Harappans' commitment to preventative healthcare practices, dating back to approximately 2500 BCE.

Biological data from the excavated Harappan sites offer crucial insights into the prevalent diseases and medical conditions of the time and the treatments employed, including surgical interventions. Remarkably, the Indus Valley Civilization practiced trephination, a sophisticated medical procedure involving the drilling of a hole into the patient's skull to treat conditions such as headaches and psychological disorders. This practice underscores the advanced medical knowledge and surgical skills possessed by the Harappan people.

Key words: Harrapan Civilization, Medicine, Human Skelton, disease, Sensitization

Introduction:

The Indus Civilization, also known as the Sindhu-Saraswati or Harappan Civilization, represents the earliest known urban society of the Indian subcontinent. Spanning nuclear dates between 2500 and 1700 BCE, with southern sites possibly enduring into the second millennium BCE, it was the most expansive of the world's early civilizations. The Archaeological Survey of India's groundbreaking discoveries in 1921-1922 uncovered this vast, distinct civilization with its twin urban centers at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro in northwest India. Subsequent excavations revealed numerous other sites, including Kalibangan, Kot Diji, Chanhu-daro, Dholavira, Banawali, and Sutkagendor. Named after its first excavation site, Harappa, this civilization extended across Afghanistan, Sindh, Baluchistan, Jammu, Punjab, northern Rajasthan, Kathiawar, and Gujarat. Kalibangan and Mohenjo-Daro emerged as central hubs, representing the heart of Harappan settlements. Harappan towns were renowned for their large non-residential structures, baked brick houses, sophisticated drainage systems,

water supply networks, and advanced urban planning. The Harappans demonstrated a profound knowledge of medicine, utilizing a wide array of herbs and pharmaceuticals to treat various ailments. One of the most remarkable medical practices of the Indus Valley Civilization was trephination, a procedure involving the cutting of a hole in the skull to address conditions of the skull and brain. Evidence of this practice has been found in sites such as Lothal, Kalibangan, and Burzahom, though notably absent in Harappa and most other locations. Additionally, traction—a series of mechanisms for straightening broken bones or relieving pressure on the spine and skeletal system—was also practiced, showcasing the advanced medical techniques of the Harappans.

These findings not only highlight the Indus Civilization's remarkable urban and technological achievements but also underscore their advanced medical knowledge and practices. The extensive archaeological evidence paints a vivid picture of a society deeply committed to public health and medical care, reflecting their sophisticated approach to healthcare and urban living.

Medicine and Health System of the Harappan Civilization

In the absence of deciphering the Harappan script, directly understanding the Harappan state of knowledge regarding medicine and health remains elusive. However, significant insights can be gleaned from various sources. According to Kenneth Zysk, the Harappans were knowledgeable about health and medical sciences, employing a variety of medicinal plants and remedies to treat ailments. Their medical care included purification ceremonies, magic, and fire rituals,[1] reflecting a holistic approach to health that intertwined the physical and spiritual. Suraj Bhan and K.S. Dahiya further elaborate on the health conditions in the Harappan Civilization through two types of evidence: cultural and biological.[2] The cultural information of the Harappans provides valuable insights into their food procurement, access to clean water, sanitation practices, and public amenities. It also highlights their early commitment to preventive healthcare, which can be traced back to around 2500 BCE. Biological evidence from excavated Harappan sites helps identify the diseases and ailments prevalent during that period, as well as the treatments used, including surgical procedures.[3]

1. Cultural Evidence:

The cultural evidence provides a comprehensive understanding of how the Harappans perceived and accessed essential aspects of daily life, including food, clean water, sanitary practices, and public amenities. This evidence showcases the Harappans' early commitment to preventative healthcare practices, which date back to around 2500 BCE. Urban planning in Harappan cities featured advanced drainage systems, public baths, and well-planned water supply networks, all indicative of a society prioritizing public health and hygiene. The meticulous urban infrastructure reveals a sophisticated understanding of the importance of sanitation and clean water, crucial elements in preventing diseases and maintaining public health.

2. Biological Evidence:

Biological evidence from the excavated Harappan sites offers insights into the diseases and medical conditions prevalent during the period and the treatments employed, including

surgical practices. Skeletal remains and other biological artifacts help identify common ailments and medical procedures. For instance, evidence of trephination—a surgical intervention involving the drilling of a hole in the skull to treat conditions of the skull and brain—has been found in several Harappan sites, indicating advanced surgical knowledge. Additionally, the practice of traction to straighten broken bones or relieve pressure on the spine and skeletal system has been evidenced, highlighting the Harappans' medical ingenuity and capability.[4]

The synthesis of cultural and biological evidence paints a vivid picture of the Harappan civilization's medical and health practices. It underscores their advanced understanding of medicine, their commitment to public health, and their sophisticated approach to integrating healthcare with daily life and urban planning. This holistic view of the Harappan civilization reflects a society that was not only technologically advanced but also deeply invested in the well-being of its people.

Cultural Evidence of the Harappan Civilization

Excavations at Harappa provide profound insights into the social structure and cultural practices of the Harappan Civilization. The artifacts recovered from Mohenjo-Daro and other sites suggest a stratified society with distinct social classes. These classes can be broadly categorized into four groups: the upper crust, soldiers, businessmen, and laborers/artisans.[5] The upper crust included priests, physicians, astrologers, and magicians, likely representing the educated elite. The prominence of physicians within this group underscores their significant role in Harappan's social life. This suggests that medical practitioners held esteemed positions, reflecting a society that valued health and knowledge. The Harappans exhibited a highly developed sense of personal and public hygiene, indicative of their orderly nature. Excavations reveal sophisticated sanitary facilities, including advanced drainage systems and well-planned water supply networks. The meticulous town planning of Harappan cities, characterized by grid layouts and uniform construction, demonstrates a civic authority dedicated to public health. The Great Bath of Mohenjo-Daro exemplifies this commitment to cleanliness and ritual purity. Likely used for ceremonial ablutions by the upper classes, it underscores the cultural importance of water in maintaining both physical cleanliness and spiritual sanctity. The association of public baths with ritual purity suggests that sanitation was integral to town and home planning.[6]

Large-scale excavations have unveiled the extensive sanitary facilities across Harappan cities, highlighting the populace's emphasis on cleanliness. Bathing was a ubiquitous practice, signifying its role in daily life and preventive healthcare.[7] This cultural norm reflects an advanced understanding of hygiene and its importance in maintaining public health. The presence of efficient drainage systems and a sufficient water supply further attests to the Harappan civilization's sophisticated civic planning. These features reveal a society well aware of its responsibilities in safeguarding the health of its citizens.[8] Water was not only a medium for external cleanliness but also believed to preserve bodily fluids, imbuing it with miraculous capabilities. This belief in water's life-giving properties, or *prana* (vital air), [9]indicates its central role in Harappan preventive care practices. Hence, the Great Bath should be viewed not just as a sacred space but also as a scientifically grounded facility for cleanliness and health preservation.

The tree-worship traditions reveal the Harappans' deep respect for the plant kingdom, recognizing its dual role in providing both sustenance and medicinal resources.[10]This cultural practice hints at a preference for plant-derived drugs over animal products and minerals, a trend observed in subsequent Ayurvedic texts. The Charaka Samhita, an ancient Ayurvedic text, asserts the unparalleled utility of plant-based medicines. This perspective is consistent with the Harappans' use of herbs as drugs, indicating a sophisticated understanding of herbal pharmacology.[11]Among the archaeological findings, *'Silajatu'* (bitumen) stands out, suggesting its use as a preferred remedy.[12] Even today, *Silajatu* is celebrated for its strength-promoting properties and effectiveness in treating various diseases, highlighting the enduring legacy of Harappan medicinal practices.[13] Excavations have also uncovered evidence of animal products used for medicinal purposes. Findings in Harappa include cuttlefish bones and antlers from Cervidae, likely employed in traditional remedies. These discoveries reflect a diverse pharmacopeia, integrating both plant and animal products, which are still in use today, underscoring the advanced medical knowledge of the Harappan civilization. The Harappans also demonstrated proficiency in cosmetic applications, such as the use of collyrium.[14] Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro reveal the widespread use of collyrium, which P.V. Sharma notes was utilized to prevent eye diseases.[15] This practice, documented in classical Indian texts, has been preserved through the ages, showcasing the civilization's commitment to preventive healthcare. A notable discovery at Mohenjo-Daro is a depiction of a three-faced figure surrounded by various animals, including an elephant, tiger, water buffalo, and Indian rhinoceros, with deer positioned beneath.[16] [17]John Marshall identified this proto-God as Shiva,[18] a name that has since been widely adopted. In Hindu mythology, Lord Shiva is revered as the first divine physician (*Divya Bhisak*)[19] and is associated with the origin and destruction of the first disease, *Jvara* (*fever*).[20] This connection highlights the Harappan civilization's integration of religious beliefs with medical practices.

Contrasting interpretations by Kenneth Zysk in "Asceticism and Healing in Ancient India" suggest the presence of shamanistic healing practices. Shamans employed magical rituals, including exorcism, ecstatic dance, and magic battles, using potent and imitative medicines to cure ailments.[21]These practices point to a complex interplay between spiritual and medical healing traditions in the Harappan society. the cultural evidence from Harappan's excavations paints a picture of a highly organized and health-conscious society. The emphasis on hygiene, advanced urban planning, and the esteemed status of medical practitioners all reflect the Harappans' sophisticated approach to health and wellness. This civilization's integration of cleanliness into daily and ritual life underscores their holistic understanding of health, blending the physical with the spiritual in a manner that was advanced for its time. the Harappan civilization's medical practices were remarkably advanced, integrating a rich knowledge of plant-based remedies, animal products, and preventive care. Their reverence for the plant kingdom, sophisticated urban planning for hygiene, and integration of religious beliefs with healing practices reflect a holistic approach to health and wellness that was ahead of its time. This intricate web of cultural, religious, and medical practices underscores the Harappans' profound understanding of medicine and their enduring legacy in the history of ancient healthcare.

Biological Evidence of the Harappan Civilization

Excavations of Harappan sites have yielded significant biological evidence, providing insights into the health and diseases of the civilization. The skeletal remains unearthed from these sites are crucial for reconstructing the common ailments and treatments, including surgical practices, of the Harappan people. The analysis of skeletal remains has been instrumental in understanding the diseases that afflicted the Harappan population.[22] In particular, K.A.R. Kennedy's examination of 34 skeletons during the 1987–1988 excavation offers valuable data on the life expectancy and health conditions of the Harappans as follows:

Sr. No	Age bar	Life expectancy
01	Young Adult (16 – 35 Years)	18 (53 %)
02	Middle-aged adults (36 – 55 Years)	11 (33 %)
03	Children (3.5 – 12 Years)	1 (3 %)
04	Infants (below 3.5 Years)	2 (6 %)
05	Adults of uncertain age	2 (6 %)

(Source, Deepak Kumar (ed)), Disease and Medicine, p. 6)

Kennedy's study reveals the age at death of the Harappan population, shedding light on their life expectancy. This information helps to contextualize the overall health and longevity of the Harappans, as well as the effectiveness of their medical practices. The skeletal remains indicate a range of health issues, including signs of trauma, infections, and nutritional deficiencies. These findings suggest that the Harappans faced a variety of medical challenges and employed different treatments to address them. Evidence of surgical intervention has been found in some Harappan skeletons. For instance, trephination, a procedure involving drilling a hole in the skull to treat conditions such as headaches and brain injuries, was practiced. This indicates a level of medical knowledge and skill in performing complex surgical procedures. The condition of the teeth and bones can provide information about the Harappans' diet and nutritional status. Dental health, for example, reflects dietary habits and the prevalence of certain nutritional deficiencies or excesses. The prevalence of certain diseases can be inferred from the skeletal remains. Signs of arthritis, tuberculosis, and other chronic conditions have been identified, offering a glimpse into the health challenges faced by the Harappan population. The life expectancy of the Harappan population, as inferred from skeletal remains, suggests a high mortality rate among young adults. This observation aligns with findings by K.A.R. Kennedy, who noted that the Harappans faced significant health challenges. However, the veracity of these findings needs further support from additional research. A.K. Sharma's examination of a skeleton from the Kalibanga cemetery revealed signs of skeletal paralysis. The skeleton was found unceremoniously placed upside-down in a squatting position, accompanied by three pots. Sharma interpreted the body's posture and the presence of rigor mortis as indicative of paralysis, providing unique insights into Harappan burial practices and health conditions.[23] Kennedy's work, "Trauma and Diseases in the Ancient Harappans," highlights the possibility of hereditary diseases such as thalassemia[24] or sickle cell anemia. He

also suggested that these conditions, along with endemic malaria, significantly impacted the Harappan population. Kennedy's findings point to a high incidence of porotic hyperostosis, a condition associated with anemia, which further supports the presence of genetically defective hemoglobins and related diseases.[25]

American Anthropological Study

An American anthropologist's study of 90 skeletons from Harappa's R-37 graveyards yielded the following conclusions:

1. *Low Prevalence of Infection, Cancer, and Trauma:* The skeletons showed a low incidence of disorders related to infections, cancer, and trauma.

2. *Absence of Nutritional Deficiency Diseases:* There was no evidence of diseases linked to nutritional deficiencies, such as rickets, scurvy, or anemia.

3. *High Incidence of Arthritis:* Arthritis, particularly severe neck arthritis, was prevalent, indicating prolonged exposure to heavy loads.

4. *Dental Health Issues:* The population exhibited signs of hypoplasia of dental enamel, abscesses, cavities, calculus, and alveolar resorption, reflecting their agricultural lifestyle.

5. *Biological Continuity:* The statistical examination of skeletal skulls revealed biological similarities between the Harappans and both later Harappan populations and contemporary inhabitants, suggesting a significant degree of biological continuity over 5000 years.[26]

Persistent Anemia and Malaria

P.C. Dutta's investigation into Harappan skeletons identified persistent anemia, evidenced by bilateral parietal thinning. Kennedy's in-depth research further supported this, showing a high frequency of porotic hyperostosis, indicative of sickle cell disease and thalassemia. He emphasized the connection between these conditions and endemic malaria, noting the clinical characteristics consistent with the disease.[27]

Sanitation and Hygiene

The excavations at Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa, and other sites provide concrete evidence of the Harappans' proficiency in sanitation and hygiene. Despite this, the prevalence of malaria is notable. Kennedy attributed this to the deterioration of social norms in the post-Mohenjo-Daro period and the sporadic recurrence of catastrophic floods, which Mortimer Wheeler noted as creating conditions conducive to virulent and endemic malaria.[28]

Unhygienic Conditions and Diseases in the Harappan Civilization

Circumstantial evidence from the fringes of Harappan towns indicates that unhygienic conditions, such as stagnant water and waste accumulation, created ideal breeding grounds for mosquitoes and flies. These conditions likely contributed to the prevalence of malaria. The decline in civic standards in later Mohenjo-Daro and other cities exacerbated these conditions. Occasional floods caused swamps and stagnant water bodies in the pits dug for clay used in

bricks and pottery. Additionally, the improper disposal of cow dung, night soil, and other waste products outside city boundaries further aggravated the situation. Neglect in maintaining public drains, irrigation canals, and other infrastructure led to the spread of water- and vector-borne illnesses like malaria.[29]

Anthropological and Archaeological Investigations

Recent investigations into the Harappan civilization have yielded crucial insights into the medical history of the period. According to scientific studies, the once-thriving Indus Valley civilization exhibited increasing signs of violence and deadly diseases, particularly among socially marginalized groups. Climate change drove this once-prosperous society into decline. A study conducted by three anthropologists from Appalachian State University in North Carolina, USA, and their Indian counterparts from the Deccan College, Pune, led by Veena Mushrif-Tripathy, was based on a comprehensive review of skeletal remains discovered in pre-independence burial sites near Harappa. The Indus Civilization, which spanned a million square kilometers in what is now Pakistan and India, thrived for millennia but showed signs of decline by 1900 BCE.[30] Extensive excavations have revealed a highly advanced society, yet the impact of social, economic, and climatic changes on human populations was not well understood.

The research indicates that leprosy first appeared in Harappa during the civilization's urban phase and spread rapidly. New diseases, such as tuberculosis, also began to appear in the late Harappan or post-urban phase burials. Signs of brutal wounds, like brain trauma, also worsened over time. These findings challenge the long-held belief that the Indus civilization was a peaceful, cooperative, and egalitarian society without social discrimination or disparities in access to resources.[31] Further study is required to fully validate these claims. The team led by Gwen Robbins Schug, who authored the 2013 PLOS ONE article "Infection, Disease, and Biosocial Process at the End of the Indus Civilization," examined signs of trauma and infectious disease in skeletal remains from three burial sites at Harappa. These skeletons, discovered before India's independence, are preserved at the Anthropological Survey of India in Kolkata.[32] The new data suggests that certain populations in Harappa were more significantly impacted by socioeconomic and climatic changes than others. Socially excluded or impoverished communities were more likely to experience violence and illness. This pattern is typical in societies with high social differentiation and hierarchies but poor social controls, particularly during times of resource stress.[33]

Robbins Schug's findings are startling. Violence and disease rates increased over time, with the highest rates occurring as the human population abandoned the cities. More intriguingly, the highest rates of violence and sickness were found among those not buried in the city's official cemeteries. Men, women, and children were cremated in a small ossuary southeast of the city. In this sample, the violence rate was 50% for the 10 crania preserved, and more than 20% of individuals showed signs of leprosy infection.[34] Robbins-Schug noted that "rapid climate change episodes have broad effects on human populations." While scientists cannot assume that violence and disease will always correlate with climate change, the rapid pace of urbanization and increased intercultural interaction in Indus towns created challenging

situations for the population. Leprosy and tuberculosis likely spread through an interface region that included Middle and South Asia.[35]

The biological evidence from Harappan's excavations provides a comprehensive view of the health and medical practices of this ancient civilization. From high mortality rates among young adults to the prevalence of genetic diseases and malaria, the findings underscore the Harappans' advanced understanding of health and medicine. Despite their proficiency in sanitation and hygiene, the Harappans faced significant health challenges, reflecting the complex interplay between their environment, social structure, and medical practices. also, Unhygienic conditions, exacerbated by climatic and social changes, created a fertile ground for diseases like malaria, leprosy, and tuberculosis. The research underscores the complexity of Harappan society, revealing a civilization that, despite its advancements in urban planning and sanitation, struggled with significant health issues and social inequalities. These findings offer a valuable perspective on the interplay between environment, society, and health in ancient civilizations.

Conclusion

Due to the undeciphered writings of the Harappan period, our understanding of their medical and health systems relies heavily on archaeological evidence. Unfortunately, this evidence is insufficient to provide a comprehensive picture of their medical practices and health conditions. Despite these limitations, the Harappan civilization is noted for its remarkable cleanliness, sanitary conditions, clean water, and pollution-free environment within its cities and forts. The inhabitants of the Harappan culture placed a high value on cleanliness, which likely protected them from many infectious diseases. However, data on therapeutic efficacy is sparse, with limited evidence of surgical practices, primarily trephining. The excavations at Harappa have revealed surprisingly few surgical instruments, further complicating our understanding of their medical procedures. It is important to recognize that relying solely on human skeletal remains to infer health conditions has its limitations. A comprehensive analysis should include various types of evidence, such as diet and nutrition, surgical instruments, information on herbal medicines, and the social and professional status of physicians, as well as cultural aspects influencing health.

In conclusion, while the archaeological evidence indicates that the Harappan civilization had developed medical and health systems, a more systematic and detailed understanding is hindered by the lack of decipherable written records and concrete data. Nevertheless, the Harappans appear to have had structured treatment methods for various diseases, reflecting an advanced approach to health and hygiene for their time.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATION OF FOOTHILL OF BARAPAHAD HILL AND JHAUN RIVER VALLEY: A PRELIMINARY OBSERVATION

Dr. Atul Kumar Pradhan
Chudamani Rana

Abstract

The current paper is lighted upon the current prehistoric archaeological investigation on the foothill of Barapahad hill and Jhaun river valley which is an independent branch of river Mahanadi has been emerged from the foothill area of Barapahad hill. The current investigation focuses on a variety of archeological sites in and around of Jhaun river and the Barapahad hill. The cultural material association lights upon the Stone Age culture in varieties of stages involving Hominin occupation of this region and other involved matters. The central intents of the paper to examine the cultural materials from presently got archaeological sites for presenting the Stone Age culture and prehistoric human residing of this side.

Key words: Jhaun; Barapahad; foothills; Hand axe; Bargarh; Odisha.

Introduction

There are several different types of archaeological sites in the Bargarh Upland, dating back to prehistoric periods (Seth 1995-96, Panda 1996, Mendaly2012, Deep 2014, Behera et al 2015). For the last 40 years, archaeologists, researchers, and academics have been concentrating their study and exploration in this region. The current archaeological investigations in the Barapahad hills and its Jhaun River have brought light upon the archaeological sites that presented the cultural materials from the prehistoric times. The physical remnants of the sites were found in locations with rock shelters, along riverbanks, and in the foothills, among other varied geomorphic components. This archaeological investigation, including the associated materials, presents a new phase of the technological and typological research on stone implements, human habitation, cultural differences in the prehistory of the region, and network of social behaviour with the development of the above hypothesis.

Area of the present study

The current archaeological investigations give a detailed study of the major and minor branches of the Jhaun River scattering over from the origin up to N H 6, with general relief varying from 150 m to 200 m above mean sea level. The Jhaun played an important role in the reestablishment of Paleolithic culture in the Bargarh upland. It emerges from the Barapahad hills and flows through Junani, Belbahali, Kaantal, Amjhar, Batimunda, and Attabira, crosses N.H. 6, and joins at the life line of the Odisha river Mahanadi (Rana 2018:26). The maximum

of prehistoric sites in the study areas were found on the foothills. Ghanghati and Runipali are located in the Attabira block, Nalichuan located in Bhatli block and Gangei is located in the Ambabhona block of Bargarh district. The prehistoric Bargarh Upland in general and the Jhaun River in particular provided a constant supply of water for the emergence of human civilization; prehistoric sites in the Barapahad foothills have been explored.
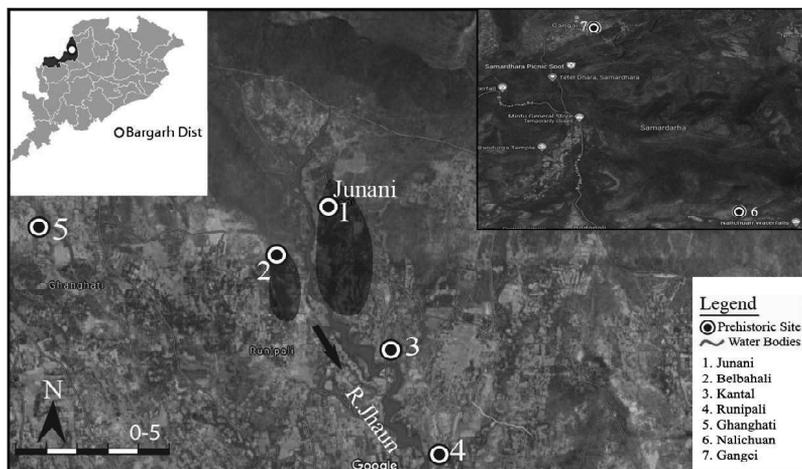
Fig. 1 – Site distribution map of the study area.

Environmental setting

Understanding the solar system, the home planet, and its geophysical and biological processes is essential for the examination of human ancientness (Dincauze 2000). Known as the "Rice bowl of Odisha," Bargarh was located in the western part of the state. The district has 5837 square kilometres in total size. The district has been split into two categories: flood lowlands and hill tracts. The flood plain is derived from the fertile alluvial plains, while the steep slopes preserve a variety of rocks and minerals. There are east-west slants in this area (Rana and Acharya 2019–13). It has been bounded on the west and the North West by hill ranges from eastern Sarangarh and Mahasamund district of Chhatishgarh while on the North, East, South East and South by the Barapahad hill ranges of Bargarh district and uplands of Sambalpur, Subarnapur and Balangir district of Odisha (Behera, Sinha, Thakur 2015). The district has a lot of undulating hills with hillocks and small hill ranges. The central hill ranges and the hill are the Gandhamardhan hill ranges, the Barapahad hill ranges and the Jhanjpahad with this Papanga and Bindhyabasini and non hilly forests could be found there. The peak physiographic areas and the main hill ranges in the district is Barapahad hill ranges covering the area of over 777 sq km has been situated on the South West of the district.

Previous works on Bargarh upland

The prehistoric lithic collections in Jira valley were reported by Mishra. He found a small number of microlithic sites in lower Jira valley near Bargarh district. After, Seth accomplished research in the lower Jira valley and marked microlithic sites affluent in collections

related with geometric microlithic instruments. Mishra began exploration in upper course of Jira valley in 1997-98. He found Acheulian site in Barapahad village during the period. After P.K Behera and Neena Thakur explored the district in 2011-15. As the consequences, they found various kinds of archaeological sites (Thakur, 2015) such as Torajunga, Gopalpur, Samardarha, Ainalapali, Katapali, Kamgaon etc. Various scholars worked on prehistoric exploration on Bargarh Upland after 1980s, Girsul Valley by S. Mendaly, Jira valley by S Mishra, Ong and Sukel river by S Gadtia and Danta river valley by S. Deep to get the archaeological prospective of Bargarh district (Deep ,2020).

The present work is proposed to carry out intensive archaeological exploration in the river valley of the Jhaun within the Bargarh district of Odisha. The present study areas reveal a good number of archaeological sites that represent many cultural periods, starting from the Middle Palaeolithic to the Neolithic period, which have been found on the bank of the river Jhaun. The region seems to have enormous promise for learning about Pleistocene human adoption.

SL NO	NAME OF THE SITE	CORE	FLAKE	BLADE	BLADELET	HANDAXE	CLEAVER	PICK	RING STONE	HAMMER	CHIP / CHUNK	TOTAL
1	JUNANI – 1	38	140	26	26	4	2	2	1	-	31	270
2	JUNANI – 2	36	120	21	24	6	2	-	-	-	24	233
3	JUNANI – 3	32	111	24	21	6	-	-	-	-	21	215
4	JUNANI – 4	30	104	22	14	8	4	1	-	2	23	208
5	GHANGHATI	38	119	22	21	-	-	-	-	-	26	226
6	KAANTAL	33	96	26	20	-	-	-	-	-	29	204
7	BELBAHALI	26	72	22	17	-	-	-	-	-	26	163
8	RUNIPALI	23	86	27	19	-	-	-	-	-	27	182
9	NALICHUAN	29	76	21	26	-	-	-	-	-	24	176
10	GANGEI	24	84	29	28	-	-	-	-	-	29	194
	TOTAL 10 SITES	309	1008	240	216	24	8	3	1	2	260	2071

Table – 1 Assemblage composition

Lithic assemblages

Ten archaeological sites have been found in the sides which are as many as Junani - 1, Junani -2 , Junani-3 , Junani -4 , Ghanghati, Runipali, Belbahali, Kaantal, Nalichuan, and Gangei during the period of archaeological investigations in the major and minor branches of Jhaun river and the hill of Barapahad. 2071 antiquities were found from ten sites. The lithic collection of current research consist of the core no- 309(14.92%), flake is n- 1008(48.67%), Blade n-240 (11.58%), Bladelet n-216 (10.42%), Hand axe n- 24(1.15%), cleaver n- 8 (0.38%), pick n- 3(0.14%), Hammer stone n- 2(0.09%), chip/chunk n- 260(12.55%). This lithic collections shows a significant role to the toppest number of dominant instruments in the research.
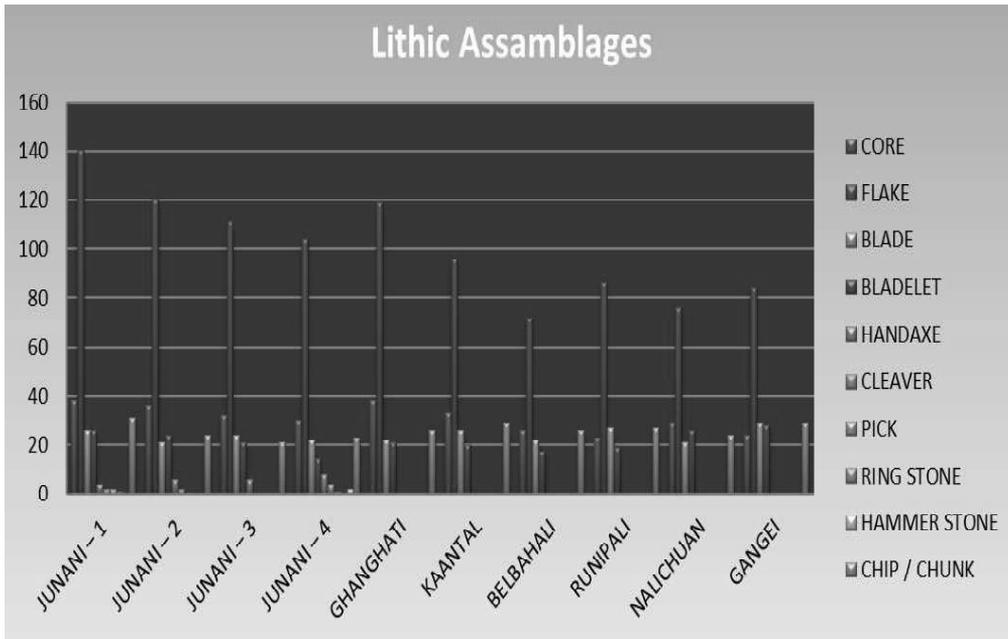
Figure 2 – Bar graph of tools in percentage.

The tool types

The assemblage structures of the research area have been concluding a number of tools made of flake, blade and Bladelets. The flake tools consist of various kinds of scraper, notch tools, burins, denticulate , triangle , trapeze and other instruments that have been during the period of finding are Handaxe, cleaver , pick , Ring stone (fig 4,5,6). The instruments are made of raw materials. Archaeological materials are either organic or inorganic origin in nature it occurs naturally and are used in the form which they are found (Herz and Garrison, 1998). The Barapahad itself is the source center for the raw materials used in the sites. Perhaps the human being exploited the raw materials which was from the rock itself and exemplified the advancement of their ideas (Rana 2018:47). The lithic instruments like scrapers, burin, triangle and trapeze were made of chert, quartz, chalcedony and agate. The cumbersome instruments like Handaxe, pick, cleaver made of quartzite. The Barapahad hills are an attractive place for the prehistoric men for residing in the foothill areas and a good source of quartzite and many more rivers have been emerged from this hilly side. N 333 chip /chunk or waste products has been classified during classification that shows the chip /chunk that have been produced during the time of tool production.

SL NO	NAME OF THE SITE	QUARTZ/CRYSTAL	AGATE	QUARTZITE CHALCEDONY		CHERT	TOTAL
1	JUNANI – 1	156	114	-	-	-	270
2	JUNANI – 2	120	113	-	-	-	233

3	JUNANI – 3	117	98	-	-	-	215
4	JUNANI – 4	115	93	-	-	-	208
5	GHANGHATI	44	132	31	14	5	226
6	KAANTAL	31	122	25	18	8	204
7	BELBAHALI	36	96	16	8	7	163
8	RUNIPALI	55	88	24	15	-	182
9	NALICHUAN	80	71	19	6	-	176
10	GANGEI	41	96	17	19	21	194
TOTAL	10 SITES	795	1023	132	80	41	2071

Table – Raw materials

Raw materials The instruments of current archaeological investigations on the Jhaun river and the foot hill of Barapahad and related substances categorized into five classes which are much accessible. The significant raw substances of this area is chert which presents n - 1023(49%), quartzite n-795 (39%), chalcedony n - 41 (2%), quartz/crystal n- 132 (6%), and agate n- 80 (4%). The histogram marks the kind of the raw substances used by the prehistoric people of that area.
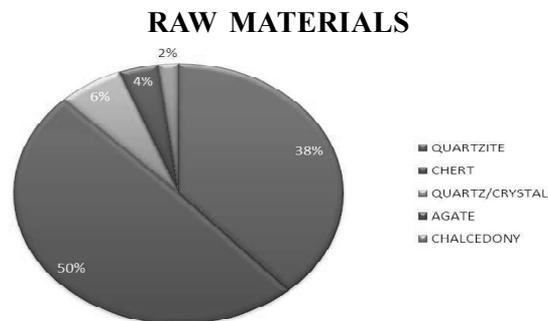
RAW MATERIALS

Figure 3 - Pie charts of the percentage of the raw materials Stone tool of the study area

There is the future of a core biface/ chopper chopping instruments transformation to a flake based innovation using the Levallois technique in the subcontinent (Possehl 2007). When we discuss about the stool instruments innovation we get chopper, chopping, side scrapper etc.

Core

Core which is regarded as the primary piece that is used as a source of raw substances, it comes in a variation of forms and sizes. It presents the end product of a series of main piece composition, depletion of separated pieces and resumed composition and depletion (Mendaly 2019:432).
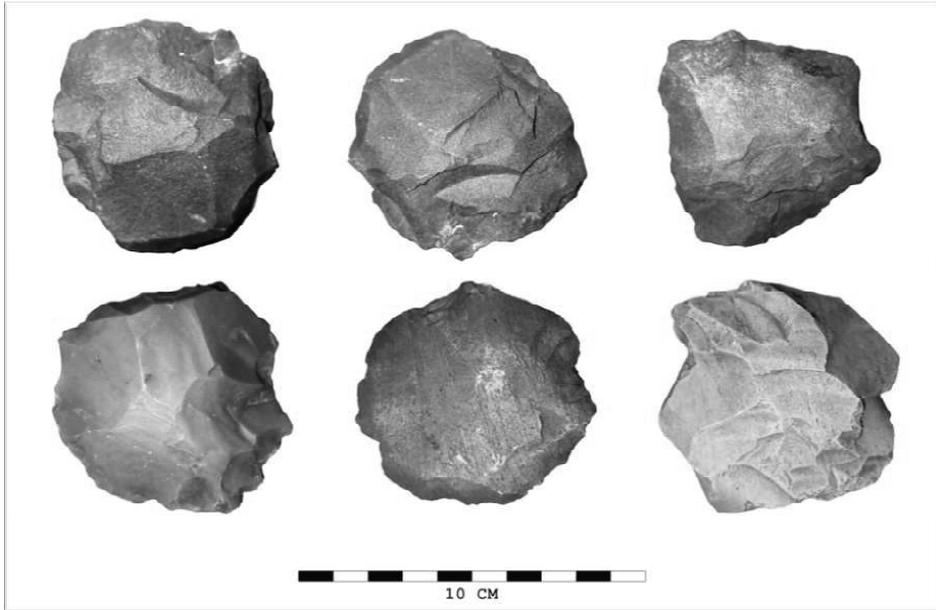
Figure- 4 core of Junani

The lithic collections of the investigations side core instruments which can be shown n -408(29.20%) of that area. Various kind of core could be got during the surveys of stone instruments. There are a variety of flake core, blade core, and blade - Bladelet core, and flake - blade cores chronologically. Abundant kinds of raw substances are used for core like quartzite, quartz, chert, and chalcedony.

Flake

It is a salient element of middle Paleolithic culture and played a significant role in the transformation procedure that is distinguished by a noteworthy solidity in instruments types. It has been believed that this culture stayed as remarkable uniform in both geographically and chronologically. It has varied nature of tool production where flake instruments played a desegregated part.
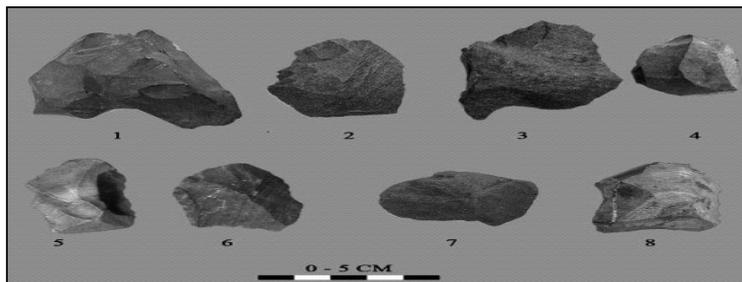
Figure- 5- flake of Junani

The current paper marks n- 1008 (20.75%) of flake during the period of investigation in the river Jhaun and the foothill of Barapahad. To make tools production bountiful kinds of raw substances been used such as Quartzite, quartz chert, chalcedony and Agate that are much accessible..

Blade

It is a word used in archaeology, a long, narrow, sharp edged, thin flake of stone; it has been used as an instrument in the prehistoric times. This flake is parted by striking from a prepare core with the help of hammer. Its length is twice in width. It is a instrument, can be the blank from which two - edged knife, burin or spokes been produced. Blades are categorized as length: width 2:1; width thickness with less than 20% dorsal cortex, exhibits one or more dorsal ridges running equal to the percussion axis (Mendaly 2019:439). A blade has equal sides that marks running down its back parallel with the sides.

The current research in the Barapahad blade consist n- 240 (8.37%). The raw substance recommends that the blades are made on cherts that are accessible in the side area. During the time of research copious blades are fresh in nature and made of black chert, green Chert and brown chert.
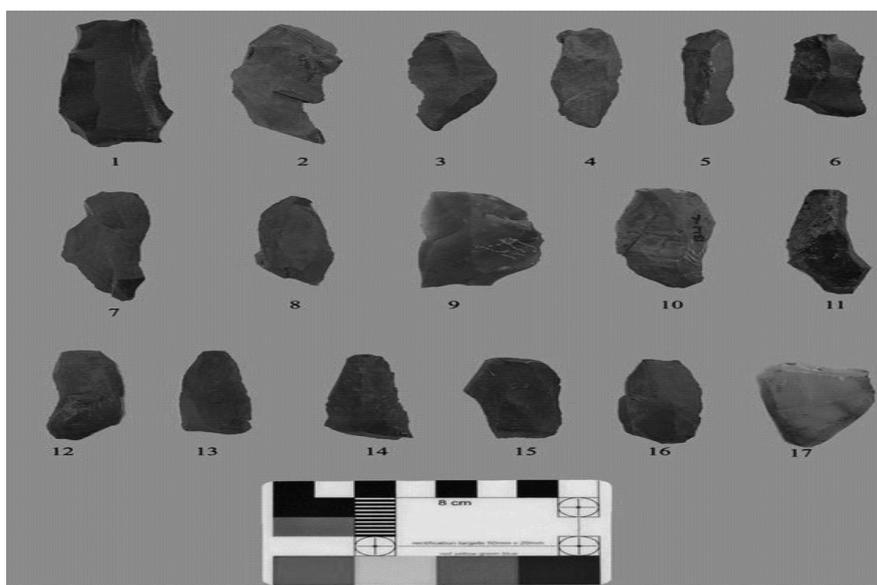
Figure – 6 Blade of Junani

Bladelet

The term bladelet is applied to subset of Blades, which have a minimum length of less than 50mm and a maximum width of less than 12mm (Mendaly 2019:439). A total number of Bladelet is 216 (15.89%) and made on Chert and chalcedony.
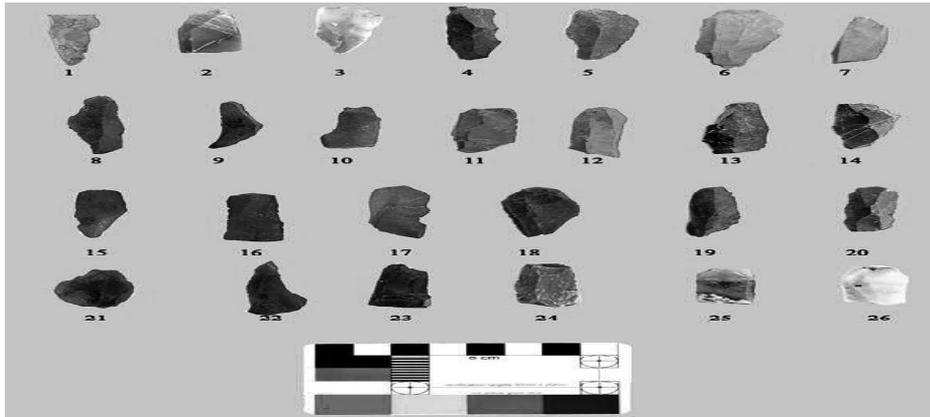
Figure -7 Bladelet of Junani

Handaxe

The handaxe was largely considered a cultural product until recently. One of the most well-known early artifacts is a prehistoric handaxe, which has been identified as unique for more than 150 years. It is part of a tradition that dates back more than 1.5 million years and is found throughout much of the ancient globe.The size of a Handaxe is fairly large, having a mean of 14-18 cm in most of the sites of the world (Wynn and Gowlett 2018:22).
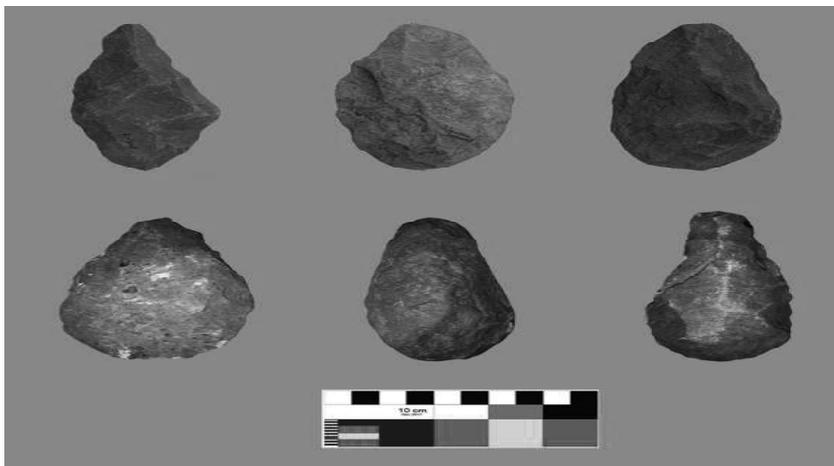
Figure -8 Handaxe of Junani

There are 20 hand axe could be found in the Jhaun river such as Junani -1 n- 4, Junani -2 n-6, Junani -3 n-6, Junani 4 n-8 chronologically that consist of 0.92% of lithic collections. Four broken hand axe could be found in nature although the conditions of the hand axe are very fine. That are made of quartzite that are used for digging up, cutting and smashing of killed animals and boring the hide of animal skin.

Cleaver

In archaeology, Cleaver contains two faces in the group of prehistoric stone tools. It is made of a massif flake and a core. Cleaver is ordinarily a tool with a transverse working edge (Bhattacharya 1979:28). It is essentially a tool made on a broad, rectangular or rarely triangular or convex side flake or end flake (Sankalia 1964:55). The function-based study of a cleaver has been proposed on its two parts, the edge and butt, as they are the working portions of a cleaver. The action had been done by the edge, and the butt portion had been used to hold or haft. It's probable function is chopping meat and wood, clearing shrubs and small trees from the spot selected for habitation, removing skin and cutting, as well as cutting the tree trunk, brunch, and bone, etc (Chatterjee 2016:511).

Figure – 9 Cleaver of Junani

The recent field investigation in the Jhaun river there are n - 8 (0.14%)of cleaver found in Junani site 1, 2 and 4. The condition of the cleaver is very well and all cleavers are made on quartzite which materials are available in the Barapahad.

Pick

This instrument is long, narrow and heavy pointed core tool, slight bend in profile curtailed at one and spotted at the others. It is renowned from the hand axe by its colossal cross section and enlarged spotted edge.

Figure- 10 pick of Junani

At the time of research in the Jhaun river and the foot hill of Barapahad, there could be 3 kind of pick got in the Junani site 1 and 4. The two pick made of quartzite

Ring Stone

That is thick and round shaped stone with a hole in the middle. Only one site Junani - 1, ring stone was found in the current archaeological research in the small and large branch of the river Jhaun and the foot hill of Barapahad.

Figure- 11 Ring Stone of Junani (Site- 1).

Hammer Stone

Those are made of hard stone. It is made of diorite, quartzite, and other sturdy substances capable of the amount of work with the least wear; it must be grainy in most cases to grind the pecked surface as work progresses. It can hardly be doubted that men living in an age of stone must have been conversant not only with the best source of material but also with its adaptability for particular uses (M'guire 1891:303). Only the two sites Site like Belbahali 1 and 2 Hammer Stone are found. It is used for produce any kind of tool; rather it may have been used to detach sizable proportion of chunk from boulder for tool production (Mendaly and Hussain 2015:361).
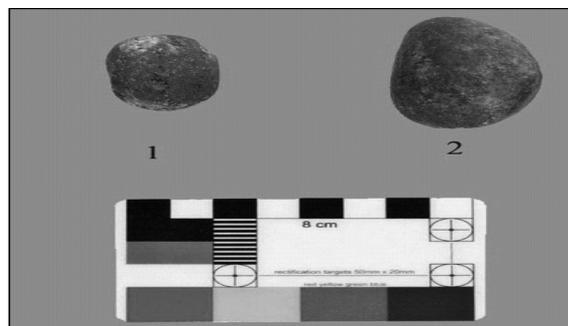

Figure- 12 Hammer Stone of Belbahali (Site - 1 and 2)

Chips/ Chunks

When many detached pieces of discarded or not used as a tool or not modified into a tool, they are call debitage (Mendaly and Hussain2015:361). During the time of field investigation in the Jhaun river and the foothill of Barapahad hill there are as many as 260 (23.83%) Chips/ Chunk are found.

Discussion

The antiquities found in the region show that the Hominins captured this region during the Pleistocene age. The sites of the Jhaun River show a multicultural period site. Minor of them present middle Paleolithic culture, whereas majorities represent microlithic culture (both geometric and non-geometric culture).

The differences in the stone instruments show that prehistoric humans settled this area for a long period of time. The instrument found in the Barapahad hill areas and Bank of the Jhaun River is as equal as the stone instrument found in the Bargarh Upland and other parts of the state(Behera et al 2015 ; Mendaly and Hussain 2015; Deep and Mendaly 2016; Behera and Thakur 2018). The current paper is the result of preliminary research, and it seems impossible to conclude the current investigation due to scarcity of time and scientific data. The proofs that we get from the region open a new chapter in the prehistoric archaeology of the Bargarh upland. This interdisciplinary investigation of this path may provide new data regarding prehistoric human colonization and other matters.

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AMBEDKAR AND THE HIRAKUD DAM: AN EXAMINATION OF HIS ROLE IN INDIA'S BIG DAM PROJECTS

Dr. Brundaban Mishra

Abstract

This paper is an earnest attempt to understand the role of Ambedkar in the construction of big dam projects in India and more specifically the Hirakud dam of Orissa. Though, Ambedkar is popularly known for his contribution to the upliftment of the downtrodden communities of India yet his contribution to the big dam project and irrigation system has hardly been addressed by any school. In short, a critical approach was initiated in the paper to understand the complication and complexity of the interstate irrigation system and Ambedkar policy and deliverance for the construction of the Hirakud dam in Orissa.

"*Orissa wants to get rid of the evils of floods. Orissa wants to get rid of malaria and other - to use American phraseology –'low income' diseases causing ill health and corroding the stamina of her people. Orissa wants to raise the standard of living of her people and advance their prosperity by irrigation by navigation and by producing cheap electrical power. All these purposes can, fortunately, be achieved by one single plan, namely to build reservoirs and store the water which is flowing in her rivers*." [Ambedkar in, Indian Information, December 15, 1945, p. 697]

Introduction

The earliest known dam in the world was situated in the foothills of the Zagros Mountains in the eastern part of the Mesopotamia civilization build by a local farmer 8000 years ago. Followed by that the Sumerians were too apt in the network of integration by building up a canal in the lower segment of the river Tigris and Euphrates around 6500 BP. The remain of earliest water conservation dams are in Jordon, Egypt, and another part of the Middle East represented around 3000 BC.[1] Since the inception of Indian history, we do have evidence of different methods of water management to control rainwater. The Harappan people who had a very sound knowledge of technology had also a sound knowledge of irrigation systems and their economy was based on irrigation farming like their contemporary counterparts in Egyptian and Babylonian civilization.[2] In addition to that, there is evidence of a channel and dockyard with an embankment wall build up with burnt brick at Lothal.[3] The reference of the artificial water body Sudarshan Lake in the Junagarh Rock Inscription during the Mauryan period in the 3rd Century BC and again in the Gupta period in the 3rd century AD shows the growth and development of the embarkment system in Ancient India.[4] The Kallani dam running across the Kavari River is said to be the oldest regulator system built by Karikala Chola around 190 AD in the Southern part of India.[5] The internal evidence

of Kalhana (1148-1150 AD) magnum opus Rajatarangini narrated well-established networks of dams and canal systems in Kashmir during the 8 to 12th centuries. There were numerous dams constructed in the subcontinent of Asia during the time of Islamic rule in South Asia. The numerous famines during British rule in India [1757 -1947 became a centrifugal force to opt for a conclusive policy on irrigation by the British Authority in India. From the late nineteenth century, the colonial government put emphasized the construction of new canals of the perennial rivers in Punjab, Sind, and the United Provinces and milldam constructed on major rivers of South India. From 1854, the Public Works Department became accountable for canal construction and in the 1880s Famine Commission claimed that irrigation projects were on average profitable for the government of British India. Between 1860 and 1921, irrigation was declared a Central concern not a State or provincial.

The early part of the 20th Century offered two most important enhancements pertaining to water resource management. Firstly, the creation of the Central Water and Power Research Station in Pune in 1916 and the introduction of the Government of India Act, of 1919, which placed irrigation under the purview of the provinces. In 1923, the Departments of Public Works and Industries were abolished, and their functions were taken over by the newly created Department of Industries and Labour. The New Department now had charge of irrigation 'Accounts-Irrigation', 'Civil Works Irrigation' and 'Electricity', as three independent and separate branches.[6] The Government of India Act, of 1935, authorized the jurisdiction and control of the Provincial Governments on irrigation, limiting the role of the Central Government only as a referee in any inter Provincial dispute. When the Provincial Autonomy was introduced on April 1, 1937, all the administrative units of British India opted for various legislative measures with respect to waterways passing through its own territories.[7] On November 8, 1937, the Department of Labour was separated from the Department of Industries and subjects like irrigation and electricity and other public works come under the Department of Labour.

The Emergence of Ambedkar in the Department of Industries and Labour

Dr. Bhimrao R. Ambedkar (1889-1956) popularly known as Baba Shab had a PhD in Economics from Columbia University in 1916. He was more interested in the social-economical as well as the political upliftment of the Indian mass particularly the downtrodden. Everyone knows about him for his political activism and his ideological confrontation with Gandhi and Nehru during the freedom movement in India. In British rule, Ambedkar was in a quandary; on one hand, the freedom movement was led by the Congress which represented mostly the upper castes on the other hand he could not tolerate the domination of the British rule over India. After years of reluctance, in the 1930s, his resentment towards Congress finally prevailed over his nationalist feelings and after years of hesitations, in the 1930s, his hostility towards Congress eventually overrode his nationalist feelings. [8] However, few know that he was the pioneer of the post-world reconstruction of the Indian economy and the path founder of the big dams across India. In July 1942, Dr Ambedkar took over the Labour portfolio, The policy formulation and planning for the development of irrigation and electric power was the major concern.

Ambedkar, through his term as a Member (Labour) of the Viceroy's Executive Council (1942-1946) led the formation of an all-India policy for the development of water resources in the country. The water policy which had developed under Ambedkar's guidance as a fragment of the post-war economic plan was in all descriptions, a far-seeing framework, and a multidimensional achievement.[9] He formed emphasis on the formation of technical organizations at the Centre, namely the Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission and the Central Technical Power Board. Apparently, he had also suggested the adoption of the concepts of multipurpose reservoirs and the River Valley Authority to address the developing inter-state rivers project. He was against the single-hand approach river valley project and advocated that "if conservation of water was mandatory from the point of view of public good, then obviously the plan of embankments was a wrong plan. It was a means which does not subserve the end, namely conservation of water, and must, therefore, be abandoned…. to dam rivers at various points to conserve water permanently in reservoirs". [10] The river valley projects which were under the top priority of deliberation of the Labour Department during 1944- 46 were the Damodar River Valley projects, the Sone River Valley projects, the projects on Orissa rivers including the Mahanadi and the Kosi and others on rivers Chambal and rivers of the Deccan.[11]

River Valley Project and Role of Ambedkar

As a Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution of India, Ambedkar made some changes in Section 130-134 of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adopted in 1947. These articles used the earlier phrase "water from any natural source of supply". The List I of the Seventh Schedule (viz. Union list) to the draft Constitution, however, made a major departure from the 1935 Act and placed the development of "inter-State waterways" under the Union List, the relevant item being: "The development of inter-State waterways for purposes of flood control, irrigation, navigation, and hydro-electric power" Ambedkar moved an amendment to Entry 74 in the Constituent Assembly as follows: The regulation and development of inter-State rivers and river valleys to the extent to which such regulation or development under the control of the Union is declared by Parliament by law to be expedient in the public interest. The new entry came to be adopted in the Constitution as Entry 56 of List I. No amendment was proposed to Entry 20 in the State List in the draft Constitution, and it came to be adopted finally as Entry 17 of List II, which read: Water, that is to say, water supplies, irrigation and canals, drainage and embankments, water storage and waterpower subject to the provisions of Entry 56 of List I. On September 9, 1949, Ambedkar moved another amendment to insert article 242A as follows, in place of draft Articles 239-242: "Adjudication of disputes relating to waters of inter-State rivers or river valleys" 242A. (1) Parliament may by law provide for the adjudication of any dispute or complaint with respect to the use, distribution or control of the water of, or in, any inter-State River or river valley.[12]

Ambedkar was directly involved in policymaking, once as Law Minister in the Central Cabinet of independent India during 1947-51 and, earlier, as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, in charge of the Labour, Irrigation, and Power portfolio during 1942-46. Though he made a substantial contribution to the nation's development in this position,

surprisingly, this aspect of his life has hardly been studied as argued by Bhagwan Das.[13] Under his supervision, the Labour Department started an all-India planning for the development of irrigation, waterways and navigation.[14] A Central Government policy was implemented pertaining to water and hydro-electricity the emphasised on the following points:- (a) the emergence of a definite all-India policy with regard to the development of "water and electric power resources" of the country; (b) the creation of an administrative apparatus and technical bodies at the Centre to assist the states in the development of irrigation and electric power resources such as the present-day Central Water Commission and Central Electricity Authority; (c) the adoption of the concept of River Valley Authority or Corporation to overcome constitutional problems regarding the jurisdiction of Central-State Governments and to develop irrigation and hydro-electric power of interstate rivers; (d) the introduction of the concept of regional and multipurpose development of river valley basin for the first time in India; and (e) the initiation of some important present day river valley projects, major and minor, which include the Damodar River Valley, Sone River Valley, Orissa river Schemes including the Mahanadi, the Chambal River Scheme and the schemes for the river of the Deccan. An apex body was formed known as the Reconstruction Committee of the Council, popularly known as the RCC, to decide the general plan objectives and thrust area. Though the RCC was the ultimate approving authority for the plan, the Ministries concerned were to do the groundwork. At the Department level, the Policy Committee and Official Committee of which Ambedkar was President, were required to prepare four statements, namely: (a) a statement regarding the broad policy of post-war reconstruction and economic development; (b) a detailed statement of policy on subjects within the Department's jurisdiction, namely irrigation and power; (c) an action plan; and (d) policy stand on certain basic questions such as (i) the question of state versus private ownership of irrigation and hydro-electric projects and others; (ii) role of the State and the Centre in the development of irrigation and power; and (iii) areas for Central Government intervention or participation in these two subjects which were under the jurisdiction of the States.[15]

The Policy Statement that was prepared by the Labour Department stated that 1. The planning and execution of the work under this head rested primarily with the Provinces and the States. The Central Government would nevertheless offer all possible help by arranging a priority supply of necessary materials and by providing technical assistance. 2. Wherever possible, the Central Government would also be prepared to consider Provincial and State projects on a regional basis. In certain deserving cases, financial assistance also could be considered. 3. The Central Government would address a detailed questionnaire to the Provinces and States about the projects they proposed and would have these proposals scrutinised by its engineering experts. A Consulting Engineer would be appointed for waterways and another for irrigation to work as a Development Officer. 4. The Central Board of Irrigation would be reorganised to function more effectively, not merely as a clearing house of ideas on irrigation, drainage and allied subjects but also as a board of referees on all pertinent matters.[16]

Between November 15, 1943, and November 8, 1945, Ambedkar addressed five conferences, of which two were on the Damodar Valley Project, both held at Calcutta (January 3 and August 23, 1945), one on the Mahanadi Valley Project (Cuttack, November 8, 1945)

and two on Electric Power (Delhi, November 15, 1943, and February 15, 1945). In his presidential address to the Conference on Multipurpose Development of Damodar Valley, Ambedkar stressed that the Centre expect the Provinces to bear in mind the absolute necessity of ensuring that the benefits of the project get ultimately right down to the grassroots "..everyone living in the valley and some of those in the vicinity, all have their share in the prosperity which the project should bring. This, in my view, is essential and for this reason, we want the establishment of some agency early enough so that the agency can set about planning at once in a way it's essential and ultimate objective can be secured".[17]

Between February 2 and March 3, 1945, the Labour Department, specifically its Secretary H.C. Prior, Deputy Secretary D. Mazumdar and Rai Bahadur Khosla worked hard to prepare the Draft Resolution and Ambedkar approved the Draft Resolution on March 3 and its summary on April 4. The same day, the Viceroy approved the resolution and was notified the following day. The Resolution read: The Commission will act as a central fact-finding, planning and coordinating organisation. It will be available to advise the Central, Provincial and State Governments in regard to Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation problems throughout the country. The Commission will be a strong technical organisation designed to conduct, where necessary, surveys and investigation with a view to securing planned utilisation of the water resources of the country as a whole and, in consultation with the Provincial and State Governments throughout the country, to coordinate and press forward schemes for conservation, control and regulation of water and waterways.[18]

The Orissa Setting and the Hirakud Dam Project

"*To dam rivers at various points to conserve water permanently in reservoirs*"

[B.R. Ambedkar at the Presidential Speech at Cuttack Conference, November 8, 1945]

In 1900, there were only 600 big dams in existence and many of them were built in Asia and Africa. It grew to about 5,000 big dams by 1949. By the end of the 20th century over 45,000 large dams were built in over 140 countries. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru once said "Dams are the temples of development" monuments to a nationalistic vision of modernization and economic growth.[19] Orissa is essentially an agricultural province, but it is repeatedly the object of floods and droughts. River offers the highest effective technique of drainage, but it occasionally overturned people's economy and distressed their peaceful life, when it occurs in floods and droughts. Orissa is traversed by five rivers, such as the Mahanadi, the Brahmani, the Baitarani, the Burabalong and the Subamarekha. The foremost three rivers of Orissa, commencing from the hilly terrain of the Central Provinces and run corresponding to each other and join the sea directly. Among them, Mahanadi is the largest river with a total length of 533 miles. It has its origin in the Amarkantak plateau, flows through Madhya Pradesh (now Chhattisgarh plains) and enters Orissa near Padigan.[20] Of a total catchments area of 51,000 sq. miles, of the reaver Mahanadi, excluding the delta catchments, only, 19,500 sq. miles in Madhya Pradesh. It passes through the Cuttack district from west to east throwing off numerous branches and falls into the Bay of Bengal through several channels near False Point. The mean annual discharge of the Mahanadi is about 1 lakh cusecs which is nearly two third of the total discharge of all the canals and irrigation wells in India approximately irrigate 70 million

acres of land each year. At present, a small fraction of water resources are being used for the purpose of irrigation; the rest is running to the sea and causing untold damage and destruction through floods. The discharge from the river sometimes attains a peak of 1.5 million cusecs. It also sometimes fluctuates between dry and wet weather; the minimum recorded in the dry season is only 200 cusecs. Generally, in the dry season, it remains between 2,500 and 1,500 cusecs. Such wide fluctuations in its discharges cause floods during rains and droughts in the dry season.[21]

There have been 39 deluges in the Mahanadi delta since 1868, extending over 2.300 sq. miles. It constitutes nearly 70 per cent of the central delta, Orissa's most productive and inhabited tract. There were deluges in Orissa in 1834-35, 1845-49, 1852-56, 1911, 1919, 1920, 1925-27, 1229, 1933 and 1937. High deluges in the Mahanadi-Brahmani mouth were undergone in 1896, 1920, 1934, 1940, and 1955.[22] In 1858 when the flood occurred in Orissa Sir Arthur Cotton, one of the foremost pioneers of modem irrigation in India was asked to report on the harnessing of the waters of the Orissa rivers. After his inspection, he suggested the construction of dams across Mahanadi, Brahmani and Baitarani, however, these recommendations did not result in any productive effect. In November 1927, the Government of Bihar and Orissa appointed a Committee of three qualified engineers to examine the flood problem in Orissa.[23] The Committee travelled widely in the mouth and adjacent areas. It. recommended that while construction of flood control reservoirs was not practicable on any of the rivers but suggested opening up of estuaries in order to free passage of floods into the sea and accelerate irrigation by pumping. In brief, the Committee did not recommend any kind of embankment, because it obstructed the natural flow.[24] In 1937, a severe flood occurred in Orissa and the govt asked Sir M. Vivesvaraya to submit a report to control the flood situation in Orissa.[25] He was predominantly underlining the possibility of constructing flood control reservoirs on any of the three main rivers and particularly on Mahanadi.[26] Sir M. Vivesvaraya Report of 1937 excluded the suggestions of the earlier Committee of 1927. He slightly disagreed with two reasons for the earlier Committee's refusal of constructing flood control reservoirs. The first reason was that the river was not come under the jurisdiction of the Government of Orissa, as it was part of Bihar province. Secondly the enormous expense of the construction of a reservoir on a big river like Mahanadi. When Orissa became a separate province in 1935, importance had been given to the Sir M. Vivesvaraya Report of 1937 for the flood problem of Orissa.[27] Sir Viswasvaraya was of the opinion that ' a system of dams should be introduced on the Mahanadi.' Publicity! Art thou another name for misrepresentation?".[28]The government of Orissa accordingly appointed a committee in 1938 consisting of Mr M.G. Rangaiya, Mr C. C. Inglis and the Chief Engineer of Orissa to investigate the flood problem of Orissa. They raised the objection to the location of the dams and recommended for the bifurcations of the rivers. In 1939 again Sir M. Vivesvaraya visited the province and recommended the construction of reservoirs on the upper reaches of the rivers.[29]

The Hirakdu Dams and Ambedkar

The Present Hirakud Dam is situated in the Sambalpur District of Orissa. It is located across the Mahanadi below the confluence of 'Ib' River and about nine miles upstream of the

town of Sambalpur. In Sambalpur, the Mahanadi River is two miles wide and is flanked by two hills. One arm of the dam joins the hill named Chandli Dongri which rises steeply from the riverbed on the right side. The left arm of the dam joins the hill known as Lam Dungri which is situated at a small distance from the riverbed. The main dam is about three miles long flanked by thirteen miles of dykes on the right and left sides. The main dam together with the dykes, with hillocks in between forms 22 miles. It is mainly an earthen dam. The total length of the earth portion of the main dam is nearly three times that of concrete and masonry sections. There is a motorable road on the top of the main dam and dykes which provides a long, continuous and pleasant drive of 22 miles around the reservoir. The reservoir formed by Hirakud Dam extends from the dam site 50 miles upstream and covers an area of 288 miles (1,84,598 acres) in the two states of Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. The major portion of the area submerged lies in Orissa and only a small area of Madhya Pradesh.[30]

It was projected by the Government of India that the completion of the dam, expected to benefit the delta areas in two ways; firstly, it would save damage to lands and property, roughly estimated at Rs. 12 lakhs per year; secondly, it would make land fit for irrigation and cultivation.[31] The following table shows the Irrigable Area of Hirakud Dam and its Crops Distributions Kharif Irrigable Area (Percentage) Acres [# The following table has been drawn from, Nayak, Arun Kumar, 2008, Development, displacement and rehabilitation in India and Bangladesh: a comparative study of Hirakud and Kaptaidams, Un Published Ph. D Thesis, SIS, JNU, New Delhi,p.13]

Kharif	Irrigable Area(Percentage)	Acres
Paddy	70%	612,800
Sugar cane	10%	87,470
Cotton	5%	43,735
Other Crops	15%	131,205
Ravi		
Wheat	25%	153,050
Cotton	5%	43,735
Other Rabi Crops	17.5%	22,958
Total		**1,094,953**

Source: Government of India (194# 7), Mahanadi Valley Development: The Hirakud Dam Project, Central Waterways Irrigation and Navigation Commission, Government of India Press, Shimla, p.5l

The above statements narrated the importance of the Hirakud Dam at various points in time. However, the construction of the dam was not an easy task. On 9th September 1944, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Member of Labour in the Government of India approved the establishment of the Central Irrigation and Water Advisory Board (CI & WAB) and opposed any provincial

consultation about big dams' construction. In December 1944 another federal agency was created named Central Waterways Irrigation and Navigation Commission (CWINC) headquartered in Delhi. The major concern of this agency includes irrigation, river control, conservation and control of flood waters, hydropower development, soil conservation, tidal problems and navigation. In response, almost all the provinces and princely states welcomed the formation of the Commission.[32]

In 1945, The Chairman (Dr. AN. Khosla) visited Orissa in May and commissioned them to investigate and· recommend measures to deal with the flood and drought problem in Orissa. A.N. Khosla, Chairman of CWINC made a preliminary survey of the Mahanadi River to identify the site for the dam his report suggested that the dam would be 5 km long and would store a total of five-million-acre feet of water. Allowing for one and a half million-acre feet of dead storage, the dam was expected to provide adequate irrigation to 800,000 acres in Sambalpur district and in Sonepur, a State of the Eastern Agency group, and possibly, Aiakhol. The dam would also generate 50,000 kW of energy for economic transmission to the surrounding 300 km. Almost the entire expenditure on the dam was expected to be productive. Income from electricity and irrigation was expected to cover the interest, maintenance, and operation charges on the initial outlay.[33]

The Labour Department arranged a Conference on November 8, 1945, between representatives of the Government of India and the Governments of Orissa, the Central Provinces and the Eastern States to discuss the possibilities of developing the Orissa rivers. The agenda for the meeting was to consider the desirability of (a) undertaking, forthwith, surveys and investigations of Orissa rivers with a view to preparing schemes of unified and multipurpose development comprising flood control, navigation, irrigation and drainage, soil conservation and power development; (b) concentrating, first, on surveys and investigation on the Mahanadi river towards its control and development: (c) carrying out surveys and investigations by the Provincial Governments in conjunction with, and under the general direction of, the Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission. A thorough survey and investigation of the natural resources and physical features of the region was necessary, he said, to prepare a comprehensive scheme for its development.[34] Ambedkar, who chaired the session, observed: 'To say that the water problem of Orissa was of the flood is both an oversimplification and an understatement of the problem… The people in Orissa are subject to many afflictions such as constant exposure of her people to flood, accompanied by drought and famine. Deterioration in health and internal communication. But above all, it is a problem of underdevelopment and high poverty… This is the case when it has substantial natural resources. Its precious possession is her water wealth'.[35]

Ambedkar major concern was about the economic background of Orissa and not properly utilizing the water resources. He pointed out in the Cuttack conference, "Given the resources why has Orissa continued to be so poor so backward and so wretched a Province? The only answer I can give is that Orissa has not found the best method of utilising her water wealth. Much effort has undoubtedly been spent in inquiring into the question of floods. As early as 1872, there was a general enquiry by Mr. Rehand, I do not know what happened to his report. Nothing seems to have been done thereafter till 1928. From that year down to

1945, there have been a series of committees appointed to tackle this problem. ….. With all respect to the members of these committees, I am sorry to say they did not bring the right approach to bear on the problem. They were influenced by the idea that water in excessive quantity was evil, that when water comes in excessive quantity, what needs to be done is to let it run into the sea in an orderly flow. Both these views are now regarded as grave misconceptions, as positively dangerous from the point of view of the good of the people "[36] Furthermore he advocated that "Orissa wants to get rid of the evils of floods. Orissa wants to get rid of malaria -and others to use American phraseology – 'low income' diseases causing ill-health and corroding the stamina of her people. Orissa wants to raise the standard of living of her people and advance her prosperity through irrigation, navigation and by producing cheap electrical power. All these purposes can, fortunately, be achieved by one single plan, namely, to build reservoirs and store the water which is flowing in its rivers".[37]

Any development also brings displacement, and the same thing has happened in the case of Hirakud dam. However, Ambedkar as a futurist advocated the positive side of the project. He loudly spoke about the issue at the Cuttack Conference, " I would like to draw the attention of the parties which have met at this conference to two points. They are intimately connected with the success of the project and about which they will have to the success of the project and about which they will have to make up their mind at an early date. First is their readiness to consider the question of the submergence of land. Reservoirs formed by the construction of dams will submerge large areas of land, both in Orissa and the Eastern States. If these dams are carried higher up the river or its tributaries, certain areas in the Central Provinces will also be submerged. This question will need to be considered in detail in relation to the overall benefits of the integrated scheme…Submergence of areas will be inevitable if the waters of the rivers have to be conserved for beneficial use instead of being allowed to run waste and work havoc on the route. The resulting benefits from a scheme of united and multipurpose development should far outweigh the loss of lands due to submergence. This project can be a success only if it is treated as a regional project. It cannot succeed with a local treatment. The Province of Orissa will fall if it were to take up a project confined to its own boundaries. The same will be the result if an Orissa State were to make a similar attempt…I need hardly say that the welfare of the public is far more important both to the Government of Orissa as well as to the Rulers of Indian States affected than sovereignty. Their sovereignty should be used for advancing the welfare of the people and not for blocking it. With cooperative and coordinated efforts on the part of the Central Government and the Provincial and State Governments. It should be possible to harness for beneficial use this perennial source of wealth waters of Orissa Rivers which are at present running to waste and causing untold suffering on their way to the sea".[38] In the conference, it was unanimously decided to undertake a preliminary survey of the Orissa Rivers to prepare schemes of unified and multi-purpose development. It was explained that the Commission would, in the beginning, carry out a preliminary reconnaissance over the entire length of the Mahanadi, and if, as a result of such reconnaissance, a prima facie case for the development of the river for the benefit of the Provinces and States concerned was established further detailed survey and investigation would have to be undertaken[39]. Dr. Ambedkar said: "Orissa is perhaps the most

backward part of India no single project is likely to do more to improve the conditions of the people than the multipurpose development which we have under contemplation."[40]

The Foundation of the Dam: Hirakud

The Hirakud dam received top priority also because of the interest shown in it by Viceroy Wavell. Wavell correspondence to Ambedkar on 20th January 1946, stated that " It is very satisfactory that Madras and Orissa have been able to come to terms about the Machkund case. I have telegraphed to both Governors asking them to see that the agreement is confirmed as soon as possible. I understand from Menon that in the course of negotiations, the desirability of making an early start with the Mahanadi scheme through the construction of a dam at Sambalpur was mentioned. Orissa is a very poor and backward Province and if it is technically sound to construct the Sambalpur dam a point on which I think we should be able to satisfy ourselves at once-I hope we shall be able, subject to Rowland's agreement, to go ahead almost immediately. You know my interest in water control and irrigation, and I should like to be kept in touch with progress. Perhaps we could aim at a decision early enough (if we decided to go ahead) to enable Lewis to lay the foundation stone before he hands over charge on the 31st of March.."[41] In return Ambedkar replay to Wavell on 20th January 1946, " I have had this matter examined by my Department in consultation with Finance Department. Khosla has reported that the Sambalpur Dam must definitely form part of the Mahanadi Scheme, that the geological report is satisfactory but that he is not yet able to estimate the cost or the revenue accruing from either the dam or the scheme as a whole. He considers, however, that it is so certain that the Sambalpur Dam will form part of the Mahanadi Scheme that it is quite legitimate to lay the foundation stone in March. The Finance Member is all in favour of schemes of this sort and does not consider that the laying of the foundation stone will involve any specific commitments though he considers-as I do-that if a decision to lay a foundation stone is taken we can authorise the Governor to state that the Government are determined to control and utilise the Mahanadi to the best advantage of the country and that in this matter the Provincial Government hopes to receive all reasonable support from the Central Government provided that the project plans now under preliminary preparation show, as is expected that it is worthwhile to go on with the scheme In your letter you have said that we might perhaps aim at a decision early enough to enable Lewis to lay the foundation stone before he hands over charge. I think the only decision we can take is that we will assist Orissa in carrying forward the Mahanadi Scheme subject to the proviso indicated above. I think that this decision justifies us in going ahead with laying a foundation stone provided that with this assurance the Governor himself is prepared to do so from the Orissa angle. My department has shown this letter to Finance Department who agree with it."[42]

A.N. Khosla, Chairman of CWINC made a preliminary survey of the Mahanadi River to identify the site for the dam. In corresponding with the Adviser to the Governor of Orissa, Gokhale, he said that he had inspected the sites of Naraj, Tikarapara and Sambalpur dams and found all three sites good for the construction of dams. He pointed out that the preliminary survey would be completed by February 1946, he said, and construction of the first dam commenced by October 1946.[43] A tentative scheme worked out by the CWINC

after the survey with the help of the Government of Orissa and the States comprised (a) the construction of three dams across the mainstream of the Mahanadi to store the surplus monsoon supplies with a view to flood control and their release during the dry weather for purpose of irrigation, navigation and power generation; (b) the construction of navigation locks at these dams and possibly at intermediate sites for making the Mahanadi navigable for a distance of over 500 km from its mouth at the sea; (c) a system of canals for perennial irrigation; (d) power plants at the three dams to provide cheap power for use in agriculture, industry and in exploiting the large mineral wealth of the area; (e) drainage and anti-malaria work; and (f) the provision of facilities for fish culture and recreation.[44] The foundation stone for the Hirakud dam was laid by Governor Lewis on March 15, 1946, before he retired a fortnight later. After independence on August 28, 1947, the Orissa Assembly unanimously adopted the resolution regarding the Hirakud dam project as follows: "That this assembly do resolve to take into consideration the report of the Mahanadi Valley Development-Hirakud Dam Project made by Rai Bahadur A.N. Khosla, Chairman of the Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission, and that the Government be moved to take all necessary steps to give effect to the recommendations made in the report of the Mahanadi Valley Development Hirakud dam project."[45] The Hirakud Dam was finally completed in 1957.

Conclusion

About a century ago, a British Engineer, who had no practical knowledge of the Engineering problems peculiar to the Orissa rivers argued that since anicuts and canal systems were successful in the Godavari and the Krishna valley, they must succeed in Orissa, which is only a few hundred miles from the Godavari valley. Anicuts were constructed in the main rivers of Orissa. The rivers silted up and the flood havoc increased to chronic intensity, tapping the strength and energy and health of the people of coastal districts. People began wondering why there was a flood in the Orissa rivers and no flood in the Godavari valley. After comparison, it was found that there was heavy localized rainfall averaging 34 inches from June to September in Mahanadi valley which had no corresponding similarity in the Godavari and the Krishna valleys where the rainfall is not heavy. The riverbank soil in Godavari and Krishna Delta is hard black soil whereas the river soil in the Mahanadi is sandy foam and light clay. [46] However, Ambedkar understand the as old persistent problem of the Orissa and he strongly advocated a dam in the river of Mahanadi to safeguard the people of the lower area of the river and to provide electricity and irrigation to the drought-prone upper area of the river. Though some quarter of the people at Sambalpur were against the decision of Ambedkar, yet in his speech at Cuttack in November 1945 he put special emphasis on the multipurpose of the Mahanadi dam project. When we look at the dam at present in the context of the paradoxical debate of displacement versus development the dam has a mixture of numerous meanings. Questions are or rather were raised such as did the dam give a solution to the problem hinted at by Ambedkar in 1945. Whatever may be the outcome of the hypothetical question pertaining to the construction of the Hirakud dam it is crystal clear that because of Ambedkar's involvement in the irrigation department and his self-conscious about the smooth management of surplus rainwater led to the various multiple dam project in India and Hirakud is one of the best outcomes of its.

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LITTLE TRADITIONS OF NORTH COASTAL ODISHA: A CULTURAL HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

Prasant Kumar Sahoo

Abstract

Civilizations like that of India are so complex that it needs systematic and in depth research and analysis. For this, the cultural-historian and anthropologists have taken the strides to study them from an insider's perspective. Accordingly, Robert Redfield classified the cultural traditions into little and great traditions in anthropological understandings. Little traditions are the oral and unknown traditions of folk rural and peasant people. Hence they are seen among the little communities. They are often referred to as the gradients of civilization. On the other hand, the great traditions are the higher cultures that are been formed as a result of a long history of cultural genesis. These traditions are believed to be once little and folk traditions but with mass appeal and the wide acceptance they became part of the great, literate and high traditions. The current paper tries to collect the various little traditions found among the three north coastal districts of Odisha such as Balasore, Bhadrak and Kendapada. It tries to establish the lines of interaction and communication between the two and to show the changes brought in the elements of the traditions. It concludes with suggesting further research in this direction for a better understanding of the Indian civilization.

Key words: little traditions, great traditions, cultural historical, civilization, cultural interaction, Odisha

Introduction

In social science and humanities, especially in anthropology and history, civilizational studies have a long precedence. Starting with Robert Redfield, often considered as the father of civilizational studies, M. N. Srinivas, M. Marriott, Milton Singer, Oscar Lewis, David Mandelbaum, Louis Dumont, Bernard Cohn, M. Spiro, Jack Goody, Clifford Geertz, and many other anthropologists and cultural historians have thoroughly focused on the social organization of civilizations. Their priority was on the indigenous civilizations like that of Indian, Chinese, Mexican and some of the Islamic civilizations etc. The American school of anthropology has rightly pointed out on the 'cultural structure' of these indigenous civilizations, on the line of the social structure of the British school where the social relationships were highlighted for a structural-functional analysis. Now question arises why such civilizational studies had been done in the past and why it is still gaining momentum, especially among anthropologists and cultural historians. It is because, amidst growing intolerance in the modern civil society and to understand the local, regional and national character along with the case of cultural changes, an in-depth analysis of the roots of the civilization becomes indispensable.

'Society is a process'[1] where people do interact continuously that help to form culture and subsequently the civilization as an evolutionary development. Culture simply refers to the belief systems, values, morals, mores, traditions and various cultural institutions that the members of the society have formed in due course of time. Ultimately, the cultural traits and complexes provide a direction to lead and maintain the day today lives of the man. In the evolution of culture and society, humans could reach a stage where they started practicing writing, the period since when we call it to be the phase of civilization.

One of the most important aspects of culture is its traditions, deriving from the Latin word '*tradere*' meaning 'to handover', 'to pass on', 'to transmit. It is the inherited cultural elements that are passed on from one generation to the next. According to Robert Redfield, traditions can be divided broadly into two types, namely, the great tradition and little tradition[2]. In his classic text, 'Peasant Society and Culture' Redfield mentions that:

In a civilization there is a great tradition of the reflective few, and there is a little tradition of the largely unreflective many. The great tradition is cultivated in schools or temples; the little tradition works itself out and keeps itself going in the lives of the unlettered in their village communities. The tradition of the philosopher, theologian, and literary man is a tradition consciously cultivated and handed down; that of the little people is for the most part taken for granted and not submitted to much scrutiny or considered refinement and improvement[3].

Based on Redfield, Surijit Sinha distinguished between folk Hinduism and urban Hinduism[4]. Milton Singer, another stalwart in the civilizational schools, held that the great traditions get its origin from the local folk culture through a process of continuous development by professional literati centred in orthogenetic cities[5]. He further summarizes the meaning of the great tradition as:

1.	'A body of sacred scriptures and texts in which the Great Tradition is embodied and expressed

2.	A class of literati who have the authority to read and interpret the sacred scriptures

3.	A "sacred geography" of holy places—rivers, holy places of saints, temples, and shrine centres—defining a set of "sacred centres" that provide the forum, media, and vehicle for expressing the Great Tradition

4.	A "sacred calendar" of rites and ceremonies marking the important occasions of the individual life cycle and of the seasons'[6].

While studying a rural folk society, two outstanding dimensions stand out: first, to maintain its originality as well as sustenance, the folk culture requires continuous communication to the thoughts of the local community; and second, there is a historical interaction between the lay community and the centres of civilization as the learning of the great tradition is an outgrowth of the little tradition[7]. Hence, Redfield emphasizes that the peasant folk culture has an evidential history which is not local. Rather, it is a part and parcel of that great civilization of which the folk culture is one of the regional manifestations. Therefore, the lay culture always had a constant contact with the larger model of civilization, unlike the primitive tribal

society that is strongly homogenous and geographically inaccessible. In this way, the two traditions are not independent themselves. To another important question whether some village studies would suffice for the generalizations, Singer answers that instead of statistical generalizations, the point is to establish the lines of communication between the two traditions diachronically.

Great tradition derives out of the historical tales submitted by many more little communities and comes to the peak as an element of civilization that again finds its way to the little tradition and peasantry where the elements of great traditions are suitably modified as per the requirements of local folk culture. Like the ethics of the Old Testament resulted from the tribal and returned to peasantry after those ethics been churned out by philosophers and theologies[8]. The major crux of tribal and rural folk culture that constitute the little traditions is 'the worship of nature and natural elements'[9] which is reflected in the locals' art and culture; while the great traditional part incorporates the Vedic and *sanskritic* Hindu literature, the higher Gods and Goddesses and their related rituals, sacrifices, mantras etc.

Area studied

To understand the Indian civilization, villages are studied. But does a village study as a micro-research, represent the complex and larger Indian civilization? The answer is yes. Traditional village is a whole in itself in most part and village reflects the sub-culture of the higher echelons of the great Indian tradition[10]. Srinivas reported that the pre-British Indian villages were isolated and self-sufficient. At the same time, 'parts of the little community reach beyond the physical village, while many parts of the other communities and of the great community reach inside the village'[11]. In fact, the concept of rural-urban continuum is an offshoot of this interaction.

Majority of towns and cities of the State is in coastal Odisha, still a massive gamut of population live in rural areas, even in these regions also. As the whole of coastal Odisha is typically based on farming societies and practice of peasantry, the concept of little tradition has been adopted here as propounded by Robert Redfield. The farming communities throughout this coastal belt possess a distinct culture that has a large variation with the dominant culture of the state i.e. great tradition. The present research has been carried out in three coastal districts of Balasore, Bhadrak and Kendapada in seven villages.
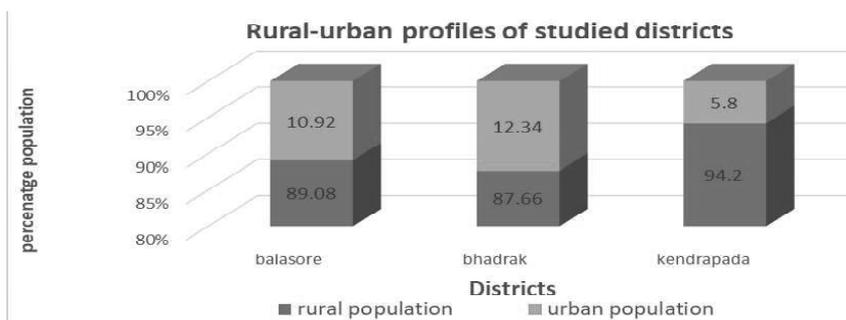

Figure 1: Rural-urban profiles of studied districts

Research Methodology

The premise of the cultural-historical method is an anthropological and archaeological research practice to build timelines of major occurrences and cultural changes in the past and present[12]. This was developed out of historians and anthropologists to comprehend vast amount of historical data. In anthropology, this was based on the Kulturkreis movement in Germany and Austria, translated as 'culture circles'. Kroeber's 'Configuration of Culture Growth' stood as a lonely monument to cultural-historical approach to civilizations. Srinivas' 'Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India (1952) was a turning point in the use of cultural-historical approach as a methodology. In the current study, the cultural-historical approach has been applied as the theoretical perspective. Besides, for data collection, ethnography method has been employed along with observation method, semi-structured interviews, key informant interviews and focused group discussion. The following objectives were undertaken to understanding the Great Tradition and Little Tradition in the local contexts studied.

1.   To collect some of the important little traditional elements, mainly the local festivals and how the little communities interpret and practice these cultural elements

2.   To examine the process of interaction between the low and high cultures

3.   To show the historical continuity, i.e. how they 'provide insight into cultural change and continuity over time, and how societies absorb, adapt, and reshape both internal and external influences'[13].

Findings

In coastal districts, the most significant great tradition followed starting with an agricultural year is the *Akshaya Tritiya* in April-May month. It falls on the third day of bright half of lunar calendar (*tithi* of *Bishakh Sukla Paksh tritiya).* This marks the onset of farming activities. The farmer ploughs the land with bullock carts and sows the seed in the paddy lands ceremonially (called as '*Akhi Muthi Anukul'*) symbolizing that the harvest would be good and plentiful to survive throughout the year. The family members wear new clothes and specially worship Maa Lakshmi. In western Odisha, this is called "*Muthi Chhuan*". The people also observe the day as '*Siddhi and Sudhhi Divasa*' because this is treated as a very auspicious day to start any new things like *Griha Pravesh* (housewarming ceremony), marriages, Thread ceremony etc. Other great traditions are such as Raja, Rath yatra, Pana Sankranti, Makar mela, Magha mela, and Tara tarini mela, Durga pooja, Akhada is played in Durga puja and during Moharram etc.

It is important to note that both the little and great traditions exist within the religion of little communities and the interaction therein. Therefore the study of religious beliefs and practices of the folk cultures can immensely contribute to the understanding of the process of two-way process of universalization and *parochialization*. Also we can learn how they operate from the sub-structure to the super-structure.

Table 1 - Little Traditions of North Coastal Odisha

Sl. No.	Name of little tradition	District	Main features	Period (tithi)	Role of women & restrictions for them
1.	Kaivatrya Purnima	Balasore	Primarily a festival of the Keuta/Kaivatrya (fishermen) community. Men avoid venturing to the sea for fishing and abstain from consuming fish. Laxminarayan is worshipped for family happiness and prosperity.	On Chaitra Purnima (April)	Women observe fasting. Cooking is done only after bathing with the ghata. They visit the shrine, offering fruits and pithas to the deity, and distribute them to neighbors and for self-consumption. Hair is not kept open as it's considered a bad sign.
2.	Uda Parva	Balasore	Observed after a vow to the presiding deity is fulfilled, usually for the protection and betterment of children. Men fast and lead an austere life, offering fruits to gods and then distributing them to children.	May	Women generally do not participate much, but those whose wishes are fulfilled also visit the shrine and offer puja. They must wear new clothes and eat only once for the day. They visit village temples with rice straw in their mouths to remain silent for the day.
3.	Raja Bata Puja	Balasore	Occurs on Raja Sankranti and is exclusively worshipped by women; men have no role. It is a worship of the earth goddess. Women clean up street roads in the early morning, believing it brings peace and calm.	Raja Sankranti (June)	Dressed in new clothes, women apply turmeric and kajal. In the morning, they go house-to-house, announcing the bata puja (road rituals). They worship with fruits and a water pitcher/pot, then seek blessings from the earth goddess and mother.
4.	Sata Ghadi	Balasore	Worshipped to the Sun God for family happiness and prosperity. Mainly practiced by women, with men assisting in the puja. Women observe fasting on this day.	December	The first rays of the sun are worshipped with milk and banana. Many sweet dishes are prepared, with ghanta (a mixture of many vegetables) being the main item offered to Surya Dev.
5.	Gouda Purnima	Balasore	A tradition of milkmen (Goudas) to express love and devotion to Lord Krishna. Cows and bulls are worshipped as descendants of Gokul, and various milk-based dishes are prepared. Men actively participate and perform martial arts like badi khela and fire games.	March	Women do not participate directly but engage in cooking sweet dishes such as khai, sakara, etc. They distribute milk-based foods to children, symbolizing Maa Yashoda's love for Krishna. They also apply colors to the deity and among themselves.
6.	Maa Gojabayani Parva	Kendrapada	Jhamu Jatra is observed to worship Maa Gojabayani. Every Tuesday and Thursday are special for devotees.	Pana Sankranti (April)	Both genders actively participate as the goddess is the presiding deity of the region. Men perform the rituals while women prepare other items.
7.	Sahada Sundari Puja	Balasore/Bhadrak	For the protection and prosperity of the village, the sahada (streblus asper) tree is worshipped as	Pana Sankranti	Women offer rituals and observe fasting for family happiness. Only non-vegetarian foods are

Sl. No.	Name of little tradition	District	Main features	Period (tithi)	Role of women & restrictions for them
			Sahada Sundari, signifying a mother cult. Unmarried individuals also observe fasting on this day.		prepared.
8.	Maa Sitala Puja	Balasore	Maa Sitala is considered an incarnation of Goddess Parvati and is believed to cure communicable diseases such as measles, smallpox, and chickenpox.	April	Women fast to fulfill wishes. They prepare Prasad and decorate the shrine. Women in menstrual cycles are generally not allowed to enter the ritual place.
9.	Gostha Puja	Balasore	Maa Gostha Devi is considered a form of Maa Laxmi and is believed to bestow wealth and fortune. Everyone is restricted from using or cooking non-vegetarian foods.	June	Both men and women actively participate. Men arrange the shrine and its surroundings, while women prepare the Prasad.
10.	Maa Basanti Puja	Balasore	She is regarded as a form of Goddess Durga and provides health and wealth. She is also believed to cure people of diseases like smallpox and chickenpox.	(No specific tithi mentioned)	Women assist men in organizing the rituals and offer penance in the name of Maa Basanti. No major restrictions for women, except that menstruating women are not allowed to enter the shrine.
11.	Sapta	Bhadrak	A seven-day ritual where villagers gather to worship Lord Jagannath, believing it brings goodness. Gita and other scriptures are read and their meanings are explained to the people.	Seven-day long rituals	Women assist their male counterparts in preparing Prasad and observe fasting like men. Women with menstrual cycles are generally restricted. The ritual is mainly organized and celebrated by Brahmin caste men at Vishnu/Jagannath temples.
12.	Baa Parav	Kendrapada	An agricultural festival where locals believe seasonal fruits and vegetables (trees) are divine or nature's objects. They pay respect to them in the name of their Marang Guru, worshipping him for good health and wealth.	Two days	Both genders participate in the festival, and all trees are protected from destruction. No major restrictions are observed for women.
13.	Guhala Mangal Var	Bhadrak	Homage is paid to cattle, considered Kamadhenu (wish-fulfilling cow), by worshipping cows. The belief is that Gau Mata will shower the family with wealth and health. Observed on Tuesdays.	Between Rath Yatra and Bahuda Yatra	Men do not participate. The eldest woman of the house prepares kheer (sweet rice pudding) in the Guhala (cowshed) and worships the cows. No restrictions exist, except that oil is not applied to hair on that day.

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Discussion

'Great and little tradition can be thought of as two currents of thought and action, distinguishable, yet ever flowing into and out of each other'[14]. An indigenous great tradition remains in constant communication with the little traditions through a sacred literature, a sacred geography, rites, and ceremonies etc. This leads to universalization of cultural awakening of all the individuals within that cultural boundary of the great traditions. There always remains a balance between the two traditions at the level of the little community[15]. No one can exclude the other as the high culture can't totally replace the little ones. As the rural, folk, peasant based society is not a complete one, so the folk culture is too not a complete one. It is a part of the greater civilization in which it has been assimilated historically. The organization of Indian civilization of the lay and high tradition has had a reciprocal relation 'through localization of the cosmopolitan or elite traditions and cosmopolatization of the local traditions'[16].

Das and Chakrabarty in their study found that there is a continuous transmission of folk culture and practices to the great tradition of Mayapur, the headquarters of ISKCON. However, there is, to them, contestation between the two traditions due to considerable influence and contribution of the local folk culture upon the great traditions of the Indian spirituality which the ISKCON spread; hence both have a direct persuasion on each other. Stanford and Whitehouse have discovered among the Burmese Theravada Buddhism that great tradition affiliation involves stronger alignment with categorical large-scale groups, while little tradition affiliation involves stronger alignments with relational kin-based groups[17].

Elements and traits of culture keep on interacting between the two traditions. Hence, Bhattacharjee et al mentions that:

Due to prolonged cohabitation of these two cultural practices the exchange of traits and elements occurred among them, and it ultimately enriched the national cultural heritage as a whole. People may worship various deities but the religious scriptures knit the heterogeneous groups together into one religious society. People of different language backgrounds, customs and regions are found in one place of pilgrimage and one shrine with one common object of achieving moksha[18].

Culture interacts through pilgrimage of Hinduism and exchange of material and non-material cultural facets[19]. Based on Redfield's conceptions of 'little and great Traditions' and his distinction on 'orthogenetic and heterogenetic cities' in Indian civilization, several broad hypotheses concerning the relation of little and Great Traditions in Indian civilization have been formulated by Milton Singer (1972). These are:

1. 'that because India had a "primary" or "indigenous" civilization which had been fashioned out of pre-existing folk and regional cultures, its Great Tradition was culturally continuous with the Little Traditions to be found in its diverse regions, villages, castes and tribes

2.   that this cultural continuity was product and cause of a common cultural consciousness shared by most Indians and expressed in essential similarities of mental outlook and ethos

3.   that this common cultural consciousness has been formed in India with the help of certain processes and factors that also play an important role in other primary civilizations: i.e., sacred books and sacred objects as a fixed point of worship, a special class of literati (Brahmans) who have the authority to recite and interpret the sacred scriptures, professional storytellers, a sacred geography of sacred centres - temples, pilgrimage places, and shrines—and leading personalities who by their identification with the Great Tradition and with the masses mediate the one to the other

4.   that in a primary civilization like India's, cultural continuity with the past is so great that even the acceptance of "modernizing" and "progress" ideologies does not result in linear forms of social and cultural change but may result in the "traditionalizing" of apparently "modern" innovations'[20].

Now the question is how a reflective few and unreflective many could transform popular belief into their own kind of religion? It is already discussed that there is a constant communication between the two; but how and in what ways? Epics and many *Puranas* are the significant expressions that disseminate the Vedic preaching to the masses. It is not only found among the *sanskrtic* Hinduism but also in other religions such as the two traditions of Islamic orthodoxy and local saints.

As contextual orientation, anthropological studies of little communities and their tradition, we can need to relate elements of great traditions such as scriptures, texts, rituals, beliefs, Gods etc. to the lives of the rural village people and also need to understand how the former impacts and gets impacted by the later. For example, the great Epic *Ramayan* has been derived from oral tales, based on Valmiki's *Ramayan*, became a part of Indian Great Tradition. Similarly, Tulsi Das' version of *Ramayan* initially stared as a little tradition. Then in due course, as its popularity grew in the high culture, it was included as a basic text of Hinduism and part of Indian great tradition. 'Consciousness of a common culture is both a condition for and a sequence of the functional integration of cities and country and of the different spheres of the society'[21].

In fact, in comparison to the isolated tribal communities, the studies of little and folk communities supply more knowledge of the relevant great traditions due to an uninterrupted interaction between the little tradition and the elements of higher traditions. For this we need to know the exact communication channels between the two and the changes brought therein. For instance, the historical connections between the traditions go through the preaching, teachings, travellers stories etc. In India, the *Sanskritc* great traditions are devolving to the rural folk and little communities and in turn are impacted by the little traditions through the process of *parochialization*. Similarly, the ideal and beliefs of the village life reflect the ideal and preaching of the great traditions through universalization as per Mackim Marriott. Indeed,

the process of *Sanskritization* as propounded by Srinivas, is part and parcel of this two-way interaction in the civilization[22]. For example, as held by Marriott, 15 of 19 festivals he found in his study of Kishan Garhi village were mentioned in the Vedic texts[23]. For villagers found to choose between various classical meanings for their local traditions. Meanwhile these Vedic rituals get localized and turn out to be a variety of the little traditions. At the end of the process, we find suitable modification of the culture itself.

In the current study many of the local festivals have close likeness with the high cultures though practiced in a particular way as per local conditions. Even the deities are the inter-mediate between these two complementary processes. For instance, *Maa Sitala* Devi, *Maa Gojabayani, Maa Basanti puja* etc. are considered as the incarnations of the ditties of the greater traditions. There are certain castes that best represents the little or high traditions. Such as, the *kaivartyas* (fishermen) in the studied villages are the huge repositories of the little traditions. They have not only preserved the folk elements intact but also practice that. For instance, the *kaivartya purnima* is an excellent representative of the lay tradition (*Laxmi* Narayan is worshipped) in the present era of modernization. Similarly, the *Gouda purnima* by the Goudas (milkmen) reflect elements of local folk culture where Lord Krishna is worshipped and considered as a friend of the locals. The fishermen of the Khedarpur village align themselves with the character from the *Ramayan* as the story goes like that the *Dheebar* (fisherman) washed the feet of Lord Ram. So as the descendants of that great lienage, the local fishermen identify themselves as the part of high culture. But simultaneously, they worship and set up the local Gram *Devti, Gangi Devi,* who can protect them from natural calamities.

It is that the said interaction between the two traditions uses a manifestation of social stratum of an agrarian or peasant society. So without this interaction, the folk society can't function itself as it is a part of the civilization. For instance, the intelligentsia and the reformers act as cultural brokers that try to reconcile the extreme cultural viewpoints. The process of *sanskritization* has pushed the existing practices of the great tradition. It also ultimately leads to cultural homogeneity. Here, the non-Brahmin temples and premises are the main centres of attraction of little tradition. This is the site for local performers like folk songs, folk dances etc. belonging to low castes.

There are cultural drift towards the great tradition and getting hidden of little traditions. Hence, the latter is gradually assimilated in the former. The influence of the secondary civilizations is so huge that the Indian indigenous civilization is 'becoming more modern without becoming less India'[24]. In the current modernized world, changes happen faster. For instance, the life-cycle rites are following the modernized pattern such as puberty rituals are getting vanished. Marriage rituals have gone a sea change not reflecting the earlier one. The folk plays and ballads are turning to movies and reels. Most importantly, with smart phones and internet access, the lay cultures of the little communities are heading towards a new form of hybrid traditions with more secondary cultures at the cost of indigenous cultures.

Still there are some barriers to this interaction that has been historically present. Caste is one such factor that prevents the influence of the civilizational centres to the peripheral folk cultures. Not only the caste but also a sense of group consciousness and a quest for local identity has preserved the lay cultures from the total engulfing of the high cultures intact even after the waves of modernization and westernization.

Conclusion

The Great Tradition and Little Tradition constructs provide a lens through which anthropologists can unravel the complex dynamics of human societies. This duality continues to play a vital role in understanding culture, society, and the ceaseless flow of human history. In the current study, though the people are no longer peasants, 'it is the territorially organized local life that gives the society stability'[25]. Hence, studying the civilizational aspects require a diachronic approach. Redfield stresses that for a visible change; at least three generations are required. Thus Indian civilization is not only an urban based entity, rather the role of rural people and the importance of their cultural heritage cannot be ignored. The Great traditional elements are continuously getting mixed with little traditional elements, because the interaction among the countrymen is nationwide and the specification of regional and territorial biasness is ruled out in this socialized democracy[26]. Both the traditions are faces of one another and people belonging from respective tradition recognize and maintain the highness and lowness of the civilizational traditions. For a decent historical analysis, more cultural-historian and archaeological research need to be carried out both in the country and city region to show with evidence the constant continuity that has been existing till date. To conclude, what is more important to study is that the intensity and consequence of the interaction is contingent on the type of social organization in both the little culture and the great communities. Thus the cultural stratum depends upon the social stratum of the civilization. The more powerful the tradition is the more assimilation it would bring in it.

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ARYAN MIGRATION AND THE NAMBUDIRI BRAHMINS: UNRAVELLING SOCIO-POLITICAL DYNAMICS IN KERALA SOCIETY

Dr. Thushad. T

Abstract

This paper delves into the profound influence of the *Nambudiri* community, also known as *Kerala Brahmins*, on the cultural landscape of Kerala, tracing their origins from the Aryans and their migration to South India. It scrutinizes the integration of the *Nambudiris* into Kerala society and examines the factors contributing to their prominence. Furthermore, the paper elucidates the socio-political ramifications of their ascendancy, alongside an exploration of their customs and beliefs. The focal point of this discourse entails an analytical examination of how the integration of the Nambudiri community catalyzed the hierarchical stratification of Kerala's societal framework along caste delineations, subsequently facilitating the consolidation of Brahminical hegemony. Additionally, the paper explores the evolution of Kerala's social fabric away from Brahminical hegemony, highlighting shifts in power dynamics and the challenges posed to traditional caste structures. Through a comprehensive examination of historical, sociological, and anthropological perspectives, this work offers insights into the complex interplay between caste dynamics and cultural transformation in Kerala.

Key words : Nambudiris, Brahmaswom, Yogakshema Sabha, Antharjanasamajam

The Brahminical community has significantly influenced the cultural fabric of Kerala, recognized under various appellations such as *Aryans*, *Kongini Brahmins, Tamil Brahmins, Goud Saraswat Brahmins,* and *Kerala Brahmins*. While scholarly discourse continues to deliberate over the precise chronology of the Aryan influx, its inception in South India is purportedly traceable to the Sangam Age. Those who established roots in Kerala came to be identified in subsequent epochs as Malalayala Brahmins, Kerala Brahmins, or Nambudiris[1]. The query surrounding the identity of the Aryans remains a subject of scholarly intrigue, encompassing inquiries into their migration patterns to India and their dispersion throughout the southern region. Delving into such inquiries is imperative for unravelling the enigmatic nature of the Aryan presence.

An in-depth examination of the Namboodiris of Kerala reveals them to be perceived as a branch of the Aryan lineage, commonly referred to as Kerala Brahmins. However, elucidating the precise origins and identity of the Malayali Brahmin or Nambudiris presents a formidable challenge for historians, notwithstanding the presence of substantial evidence indicating their migration from southern India to Kerala. The purported migratory routes suggest their relocation either from Karnataka or the Rayalaseema region in Andhra Pradesh[2], albeit discrepancies persist regarding the chronological framework of this migration. Antecedent to their arrival in India, research has posited their affiliation with the Aryan tribal lineage. Scholarly

inquiries into their origin, notably during the colonial era, have underscored the Nordic ethnic designation, with contributions from eminent figures such as Penka, Belfi, A.C. Das, and Tilak. Max Müller's Central Asian Theory garnered widespread acceptance, drawing upon evidential support to substantiate its claims. Within this framework, Central Asia denotes proximate provinces to Europe characterized by linguistic affinities originating in the Steppe regions[3]

Over time, their progenitors embarked on migratory routes that led them from the Indian subcontinent to regions encompassing Iran and Afghanistan[44] . Mukundan Kurup,*Kerala Samskara Charithram Brahmana Gramangaliluude*

(Mal), Sahithya Pravarthaka Co–Operative Society, Kottayam, 2018. P.35

Characterized by physical attributes such as stature, fair complexion, and an oval countenance, these migrants eventually settled in the Saptha Sindhu valley by traversing the Khaibar pass. Scholarly investigations suggest their potential influence on the waning fortunes of the Indus Valley civilization, with the purported mass casualties in Mohenjo-Daro serving to underscore the culmination of the Aryan migration narrative[5]. The adoption of iron technology conferred upon them a comparative advantage, augmenting their socio-political resilience. Historians conjecture that their migration may have been precipitated by the quest for arable land, given their reliance on agrarian pursuits and pastoralism.

While scholarly investigations have yet to ascertain the precise chronological inception of Aryan migrations to southern India, prevailing belief posits their commencement prior to the Sangam period. The migratory influx of Aryans from the northern regions into South India unfolded across three discernible stages. N. Subrahmanyam contends that the initial stage transpired circa the fourth century BC. Various catalysts underpinned each wave of migration, including political instability in northern India subsequent to incursions by Greek and Arab forces, religious persecution inflicted upon Brahmins and Sramanas, political reforms instituted by Chandragupta Maurya in Magadha with Persian collaboration, and Emperor Ashoka's patronage of Buddhism. Additionally, demographic pressures and resource scarcity contributed to the impetus for migration. The ascendancy of Brahmanical orthodoxy during the Gupta era fostered a conducive environment for the proliferation of Hinduism, prompting Aryans to seek refuge in South India. Welcomed by the southern rulers for their erudition in Vedic and Upanishadic knowledge, Brahmins played a pivotal role in the cultural and religious landscape of the region[6].

Migration narratives suggest that Aryans traversed the Vindhya-Satpura mountain ranges in organized groups, albeit scholarly consensus on the specifics of their migration remains elusive. Some conjecture posits their departure from Bombay as a pivotal juncture in their journey[7]. Subsequently, they arrived in Kerala via coastal routes, establishing settlements during the initial decades of the Common Era. The influx and settlement of Brahmins significantly altered the trajectory of Kerala's historical development. Epigraphic evidence, particularly temple records, serves as a primary source for delineating the Brahmin settlement in Kerala[8]. This assertion finds corroboration in various literary compositions such as the *Keralolpathi*

and *Kerala Mahatmyam*. Departing from their initial confines in the Sapta Sindhu region, Brahmins gradually dispersed southward across the Indian subcontinent. Leveraging their predominant role in priesthood, they garnered favor with regional rulers, accruing material gifts and political patronage. Dynastic entities such as the Chalukyas in the southern territories extended patronage to Aryans, a relationship documented in numerous copper plate inscriptions[99] M.G.S.Naryanan, *Perumals of Kerala*, Cosmo Books, Thrissur Kerala, July, 2013, PP.89-90.

The proliferation of Brahminical influence in Kerala crystallized during the Post-Sangam period.

Aryans in South India predominantly employed either *Sanskrit* or *Prakrit* as their primary language, engaging in a variety of occupations for sustenance, including commerce, leadership roles, and spiritual vocations. Historical records indicate the settlement of Aryans in South India preceding the Christian Era. Their livelihood activities were often concentrated along riverbanks due to the abundant water supply and fertile land conducive to agriculture[10]. Literary works from this epoch, such as the *'Grama Padhathi'* from Southern Canara, vividly depict their close association with water bodies, symbolizing their geographical context. This narrative is exemplified in the legend of Lord Parasurama, who, according to folklore, created Kerala from the sea and bestowed it upon the Brahmins[11], purportedly emerging from the fishermen. The Madras Census Report of 1881 AD corroborates this narrative, referencing Brahmins as a distinct group created by Lord Parasurama for the performance of sacred duties in temples, with Sudras brought to Kerala to assist them[12]. Saint Narada is purported to have advised Parasurama to seek guidance from Lord Brahma in establishing distinct rituals for Brahmins, leading to the formulation of rites such as *Munkuduma*, *Samavarthanam*, *Marakkuda*, and *Khosha* for *Anthrjanas* (Nambudiri Women), as well as ceremonies like elder men's marriage and *Poonuul*. Subsequent elaboration on these rituals can be found in the later text *Kerala Jathinirnayam*.[13]

Scholarly analysis, as articulated by Vidhyadhiraja Chattampi Swamikal in his work *Pracheena Malayalam*, disputes the authenticity of the Parasurama legend, suggesting it was a construct propagated by the Brahminical community themselves[14]. Contrary to the narrative posited in the legend, Kerala's population predates the arrival of Aryans, and there is a lack of empirical evidence linking Brahmins to the indigenous fishermen community. Some scholars contend that the Kerala Brahmin community later assimilated individuals from local populations, bolstering their ranks. Notably, Tamil Sangam literature, contemporaneous with the purported Aryan migration, notably omits reference to a tribe or community akin to the Namboodiris. Instead, it delineates various socio-economic groups such as Arayar, Kuravar, Maravar, Valayar, and Meenavar. The sacrificial role, designated as "Andanar," traditionally attributed to Brahmins, complicates the narrative of large-scale Brahmin migrations to Kerala. If the Namboodiris were indeed successors to these "Andanar" priests, it challenges the notion of their migration as a cohesive social group. Rather, they may have emerged from the priestly echelons of the diverse social groups or tribes alluded to in Sangam literature concerning Kerala[1515] K.P.Devadas, Op.cit, P.117. However, these contentions have not garnered widespread acceptance among scholars.

The migration of Aryans southward is often associated with Sage Agasthya in various literary accounts[16], although historical evidence suggests that Aryans commenced their southward migration as early as the later Vedic age. It is posited that the initial influx of Aryans into South India culminated around the 4th century BC[17]. The emergence of Aryans in different regions of Kerala during this epoch is corroborated by early Sangam poetry. Aryans wielded significant influence across social, economic, and cultural domains in Kerala and South India, facilitated by various factors. Foremost among these factors was their adeptness in utilizing iron, particularly in crafting weaponry, which endowed them with military prowess. They organized local militias, such as the 'Cattes,' reminiscent of their counterparts in North India. Additionally, the 'Ghatika' group, deployed primarily in Kanchi, functioned as a paramilitary force alongside Brahminical migrations into Kerala. The Brahmins consolidated their presence not only through peaceful means but also by leveraging their military capabilities[18].

According to legend, Aryans established sixty-four villages in South India, thirty-two of which were located in Kerala, spanning from Gokarna to Kanyakumari[19][19 Ibid P.25].

Tradition, as documented in the *Keralolpathi*, lists these original Brahmin settlements. While some settlements, like Cellur, were already established during the Sangam age, early relics dating from the ninth to eleventh centuries are associated with at least thirty out of the thirty-two settlements. Notably, Tamil literary works such as Purananoor or Akananoor poems do not mention any Brahmin settlements, although inscriptions from Kerala reference these villages. For instance, the Vazhappally inscription of Rajasekhara Varman mentions an Upagrama of Thiruvalla known as Vazhappally[20]. The thirty-two settlements listed in the chronicle include locations such as Payyanoor, Talipparambu, Alathiyur, Karathur, Sukapuram, Panniyur, Karikkatu, Isanamangalam, Trichur, Perumanam, Cemmanta, Irinjalakkuda, Avittathur, North Paravur, Airanikkulam, Muzhikkulam, Kuzhur, Atur, Chengamanad, Tirumuppattu, Uliyannur, Kazhkutanadu, Errumannur, Kumaranellur, Katamuri, Aranmula, Tiruvalla, Kitangur, Chengannur, Kaviyur, Venmani, Niramanna among others[21]. Additionally, smaller settlements termed 'Upagramas' or sub-villages emerged alongside these primary settlements. Predominantly situated along riverbanks, these villages facilitated agricultural development and temple construction. Twenty-four of these settlements persist in present-day Kerala, located south of the Perambra River.

Historical interpretations regarding the settlement of Arya Brahmins in Kerala from the Sapth-Sindhu region are not universally agreed upon among scholars. While some assert that those who were receptive to these migrants assimilated into their community, the predominant migration route for Aryans into Kerala was via the coastal regions of Karnataka. Various factors played pivotal roles in motivating this migration. Notably, northern Kerala served as a significant centre for paddy cultivation, with surplus rice being exported to other regions of India. The economic self-sufficiency of each village fostered an environment conducive to welcoming Brahmins. Local rulers actively facilitated their integration by making provisions and constructing temples in the areas of settlement. Historical records, such as the Kadamba record of Vishnuvardhana from the 5th century found at Edakkal cave in Wayanad, attest to the Kadamba influence in Kerala, which further stimulated Aryan Brahmin migration

to the region[22]. For instance, Udayavarman, the fifty-fourth ruler of the Mukshaka Kingdom, famously hosted a feast for approximately ten thousand Brahmins, indicating the extent of their societal integration and influence.

The Aryan migration into Kerala commenced in the first century A.D., gaining momentum following the decline of the Kadamba dynasty. By the eighth century, a network of thirty-two original Brahmin settlements had been established in Kerala[23], with the initial settlement identified as 'Chellur' in Chirakkal Thaluk, a territory under the Kolathiri kingdom.[2424] . K. Balakrishnan, *Jathivyavasthayum Kerala Charithravum* (Mal), DC Books, Kottayam, P.291.

Over time, these migrants came to be recognized as Kerala Brahmins or Nambudiris.Initially, their numbers, particularly among females, were limited, prompting intermingling with the indigenous populace. Intermarriage with Dravidian natives was not uncommon, and they assimilated various cultural practices from the local inhabitants[25]. However, their societal dynamics evolved over time. Marital alliances with Dravidians diminished due to local opposition, and intra-community marriages became prevalent. The primary motivation behind their migration was to enhance their socio-economic status. While they contributed significantly to shaping Hinduism in Kerala, their involvement in actively promoting or popularizing the religion was not explicit. Nevertheless, Hinduism emerged as the predominant faith in the region, supported by its authority, affluence, and social influence[26]. The decline of the Chera dynasty facilitated the settlement of Aryans in Kerala, creating a conducive environment for their establishment and influence.

The term "Nambudiri" used to denote the first group of Aryans who settled in Kerala, also known as Kerala or Malayala Brahmins, has sparked several debates regarding its origin. Sanskrit scholars propose that it stems from the Sanskrit words "Nam" (signifying the Veda) and "Poori" (meaning one who imparts), implying individuals who possess and disseminate profound Vedic knowledge[27]. Conversely, the Janmi-Kudiyan Report suggests its Tamil origin. T.S. Ganesa Pillai, a Tamil research fellow, contends that it originates from the amalgamation of three Tamil terms: "Nambu" (faith), "Ur" (conducting), and "Thiruvadi" (holy presence)[28]. Additionally, L.K.A. Iyer posits that "Nambudiri" is derived from "Nambukaa" (sacred or trustworthy) and "thiri" (a light), with "thiri" serving as an honorific suffix akin to "Akkitiri," "somathiri," and "samuthiri."[2929] K.S .Singh(ed), *People of India- Kerala*,Affiliated East-West Press Private Ltd., New Delhi, 2002, P.1077.

During the later years of the Chera dynasty, a notable transformation occurred within the societal fabric of Kerala, particularly regarding the role of Brahmins. The Brahmin class, originally agrarian in nature, underwent a significant evolution towards becoming the predominant priestly caste. The Nambudiri Brahmins played a pivotal role in propagating Brahminical practices in Kerala, gradually inducing the ruling authorities, including the Cheras, to adopt Aryan ethical norms at the expense of their indigenous traditions. During the early Sangam age, polytheistic beliefs prevailed, characterized by simplistic and organized rituals that did not necessitate a formal priesthood for ceremonies such as marriages (Kalav, Kaarpu) and cremations. The ethical code of conduct during this period, known as Dharmma, primarily

revolved around pursuits such as learning, teaching, philanthropy, religious sacrifices (Yajanam), and legal disputes resolution (*Prathiharanam*).The influence of Brahmins, particularly the *Anthanars*, expanded significantly as they gained favor with local rulers[30], ultimately resulting in their elevation to the status of Kshatriyas[31]. This elevation was facilitated by the close alliance between Kshatriya rulers and Aryan Brahmins, who actively promoted Aryan cultural values and customs. Consequently, indigenous Dravidian customs in Kerala underwent gradual amalgamation with Aryan theological practices, thereby shaping the evolving customs and rituals of Hinduism in the region. The decline of Buddhism and Jainism during this period can be attributed to the ascendancy of Brahminical influence and the consolidation of Hinduism as the dominant religious and cultural force. Additionally, the emergence of the Bhakti Movement further propelled the prominence of the Namboodiri community, contributing to profound socio-cultural, economic, and political transformations in Kerala from the tenth century onwards. Notably, this period witnessed the construction of numerous significant Hindu temples, financed largely by local elites and administrators, underscoring the growing institutionalization of Brahminical influence within Kerala's religious and socio-political landscape.

The establishment of Brahmin settlements coincided with the construction of significant temples in Kerala, indicative of the Brahmins' pivotal role in temple construction and administration, consolidating their administrative authority primarily within their own ranks. This ascendancy of Brahmins over other communities, particularly semi-tribal and semi-nomadic groups[32], was further reinforced by their adeptness in agricultural techniques, market dynamics, and organizational skills, prompting enthusiastic invitations from Kerala's rulers, notably from the Gangetic valley. Numerous temple copper plates attest to the land grants bestowed upon Brahmins by kings, further enhancing their socio-economic status and authority. In contrast, the dwindling prominence of Buddhism and Jainism, marked by their abandonment of ritualistic practices, limited their participation in crucial societal ceremonies such as birth, death, marriage, and education. Conversely, Brahmins, equipped with the knowledge of *Dharmashastras*, assumed multifaceted roles including priestly duties, agricultural blessings, and the utilization of *Panchangam* calendars, thereby consolidating their influence and favor with the ruling elite[33]. Centrally positioned within the temple-centric social framework, Brahmins accrued wealth and exerted control over other communities, as evidenced by records such as the Thiruvalla copper plate detailing donations to the temple. Some temples functioned as economic hubs, possessing extensive land holdings and substantial collections of precious metals and gemstones, occasionally providing financial services akin to modern banking institutions, including lending to those in need[34]. The gradual consolidation of the Nambudiri community and their temple complexes facilitated the emergence of feudal structures in Kerala, leading to the establishment of ancillary institutions such as educational facilities, financial establishments, and medical centers closely associated with temple precincts[35][35] Ibid P.28.

This phenomenon underscores the pivotal role of temples as societal pillars during this era, necessitating further scholarly examination into their multifaceted societal functions.

While primarily engaged in temple administration, Kerala Brahmins possessed comprehensive expertise across diverse domains including rituals, priesthood, spiritual guidance, land ownership, and Sanskrit proficiency, thereby maintaining their prominent position within

Drawing from Vedic traditions, Nambudiri Brahmins were categorized based on their adherence to specific Vedic texts; for instance, adherents of the Rigveda were termed *Rigvedies*, while followers of the Yajurveda were known as *Yajurvedies*, with a notable concentration of the latter in Kerala. Attaining the status of *Othan* necessitated mastery of forty-four chapters from prescribed texts, with adherence to *Shad Karmas* forming integral duties, encompassing sacrificial rites, supplication, study, teaching, philanthropy, and acceptance of gifts[37]. Further classification delineated eight subsections based on conduct, with the highest echelon comprising the *Samratts*, colloquially referred to as *Thamprakkal*, occupying esteemed positions within the Nambudiri hierarchy. Leading families such as *Azhvancheri* and *Kalpakanchery* exemplified this subgroup. The subsequent category, *Aadhyas*, wielded comparable influence and received regal insignias denoting their status, earning the designation "*Nambudirippadu.*"*Vishishtas*, the third group, were endowed with specific privileges such as officiating as priests and practicing asceticism, under appellations like *Somayaji*, *Adithiri*, and *Akkithiri*. *Samanyas* constituted the fourth segment, comprising the majority of Nambudiris, with access to Vedic education and engagement in rites and renunciation. *Jathimatras*, the fifth group, encompassed individuals involved in fields such as Ayurvedic medicine and military pursuits, or those relinquishing Vedic studies. *Sapagrasthas*, the sixth category, purportedly afflicted by Parasurama's curse, were devoid of rights to Vedic study or ritual performance. The remaining subdivisions included *Papishtas*, considered of lower standing due to transgressions, and *Acharyas*, tasked with educational duties[38]. Notably, the continued existence of all these categories within contemporary Kerala Brahmin society cannot be presumed.

The Nambudiris exhibit a distinctive physical appearance characterized by aesthetic appeal and variability in complexion. On average, they stand at approximately 162 centimeters in height, presenting a well-nourished and rounded physique. Notably, their abundant, lustrous, and wavy hair adorns their heads, typically styled into a knot known as the *Kudumi*. This tuft, traditionally treated with gingelly oil for smoothness and to promote length, is adorned either centrally over the forehead or occasionally draped to one side, reflecting individual preference. This practice of sporting an oval patch is attributed to the directive of Parasurama, whereby the original settler's tuft was repositioned forward, purportedly serving a national purpose. Following their ablutions, Nambudiris commonly adorn their foreheads with a horizontal Vaishnavite mark using *Gopichandanam*, signifying adherence to religious customs[39].

Historical analysis suggests that the Nambudiris played a significant role in the establishment and perpetuation of the caste system and feudal structures within Kerala. According to this perspective, all other social classes were purportedly created to serve the Brahmins, with the highest virtue believed to lie in obedience and homage rendered to them[4040]. Samel Mateer*, The Land of Charity*, Op.cit, P.158.

It is argued that the influence and authority of the Brahmins extended over all aspects of life, with others' possessions and privileges considered to stem ultimately from Brahmin favour and rightful ownership. Following the decline of the Chera Dynasty by 1112 AD, Kerala experienced a fragmentation into different provinces, leading to the absence of centralized administration[41]. This period, referred to as the post-Chera era, witnessed the ascendancy of

the Nambudiri elite. With the weakening of central governance, semi-autonomous Brahmin settlements attained near-complete autonomy and independence, assuming roles akin to landlords and exercising control over vast tracts of land[42]. Although nominally subjected to local rulers, the feudal rajahs lacked sufficient power to effectively govern the Brahmins. Prominent Brahmin families in key temple precincts, such as Payyannur, Cokiram, Trikkakkara, and Tiruvalla, wielded considerable influence, rivalling or surpassing neighbouring rulers. Within their temple jurisdictions, these Brahmin enclaves enjoyed absolute power, exempt from taxation or tribute. Expanding their territorial boundaries, they solidified their authority by investing in local administration, thereby shaping a society centered around temple structures[43]. This societal organization was stratified based on temple-related occupations, with groups such as *Nambudiris*, *Ambalavasis*, *Nayars*, and *Kammalans* occupying the upper echelons[44]. Discrimination based on caste emerged, with individuals positioned according to the perceived grandeur of their labour. Over time, the four-fold caste division evolved into a hierarchy based on both occupation and birth. The emergence and evolution of communities such as *Ezhavas*, *Pulayas*, *Parayas*, and *Paanas*, outside the traditional caste system, remain a subject of debate. Evidence suggests their presence predating Aryan influence, with references in literary works from the Sangham Age indicating respectable positions held by these communities. For instance, the Paanar community occupied esteemed roles among Sangham poets, while Pulayanarkotta in Thiruvananthapuram district is believed to have been governed by Pulaya kings. Additionally, the Ezhavas embraced Buddhism in Kerala, and the Pulaya community played a significant role in agriculture.

During the medieval period, agriculture served as the foundational sector of Kerala's economy. The development of village self-sufficiency and temple construction initiatives began around the 7th century A.D. During this time, the Nambudiris, a priestly class, gained control over a significant portion of land in Kerala, consolidating their dominance over agricultural production. Numerous inscriptions from this era attest to their landownership and influence over agricultural yields. Various factors facilitated the Nambudiris' acquisition of land and wealth. Their elevation to the priesthood afforded them positions as advisors to local chieftains, enabling them to accumulate resources and social status[45]. This facilitated the establishment of a society centered around the economy of temples and Brahmins, necessitating the involvement of various craftsmen and laborers such as smiths, carpenters, and manual laborers[46]. The management of temple finances became the purview of the Nambudiris, who held positions as temple priests. During this period, the terms "*Devaswom*" and "*Brahmaswom*" emerged. Devaswom denoted the administrative body responsible for overseeing temple affairs, particularly financial matters, ensuring their smooth functioning. Brahmaswom, on the other hand, referred to land gifted to Brahmins, symbolizing their social and economic standing. Both organizations received contributions from patrons, chieftains, and merchants, further consolidating the economic power and influence of the Brahminical class.

The management of both private property and temple lands posed challenges for the Nambudiris, leading them to delegate the supervision of their lands to the Nair community in Kerala. The Nairs, in turn, distributed the land among lower-caste individuals for agricultural purposes, with a significant portion of the profits earmarked for the Nambudiri landlords. This

arrangement epitomized the functioning of feudalism in Kerala, wherein the Nambudiris, as landowners, were referred to as *'Ooralars'*, the Nairs overseeing labor as *'Karalars'*, and the lower-caste agricultural laborers as *'Paniyalars'*. The latter occupied the lowest stratum of both caste and social hierarchies, often enduring enslavement by their masters, with their lives marked by hardship.The establishment of rules and regulations, such as the *Muuzhikkulam Khacham*, governing the conduct of these three classes, reflected attempts to formalize and regulate feudal relationships[4747] . M.G.S.Narayanan, *The State in the Era of the Ceraman Perumals of Kerala*, State and Society in Pre Modern   South India, (Ed), R.Chempakalakshmy, Kesavan Veluthatt, R. Gopalan(Ed), Cosmo Books, Thrissur, Kerala, 2006, P.115.

Despite their roles as temple administrators, the Brahmins lacked significant involvement in agricultural affairs, leading non-Jenmi and non-Brahmin tenants to develop strategies to placate the Nambudiris. The favor of the Nambudiri landlords dictated the fate of all, contributing to the rise of the *Marumakkathayam* system, wherein non-Brahmin tenants sought to align themselves with the interests of the dominant Brahmin class; [48]. Referred to as *'Thali Adikarikal'*, these Brahmins often oversaw multiple temples simultaneously, accruing considerable influence and power, even challenging rulers when necessary. Over time, Brahmin dominance permeated various spheres of society, with their authority largely unquestioned under the guise of divinity. The status and lordship attributed to Nambudiris were contingent upon the amounts they received as *Paattam*, further consolidating their authority. Numerous feudal families, including Puumulli, Desamangalam, Olappamanna, Varikkassery, Kora, and Avanapparmbu, wielded significant influence[49]. However, agricultural productivity was limited, primarily reliant on paddy cultivation and subject to the vagaries of rainfall. Inadequate agricultural practices often resulted in losses and minimal surplus during this period.

Traditionally, Nambudiri Brahmins in Kerala possessed unique privileges as both landowning elite and religious authorities. Their property rights were considered "self-manifested" (*Swayambhu*), signifying immense power akin to a monarch[50]. However, this dominance eroded due to multiple factors. Firstly, the rise of centralized monarchies like Marthanda Varma in Travancore and Shakthan Thampuran in Kochi challenged Nambudiri autonomy. These rulers implemented land confiscation (e.g., Marthanda Varma) and taxation (on Nambudiri holdings) to consolidate their control, weakening the Nambudiris' influence in local governance and religious institutions. Secondly, the arrival of European powers further undermined their authority. This likely led to the decline of Nambudiri institutions (*Illams* and temples) and potentially a decrease in their population within Travancore. Finally, the Nambudiris' traditional legal and administrative structures, along with their network of villages, also gradually diminished. In conclusion, the reinforcement of centralized monarchies, European influence, and internal transformations all contributed to the multifaceted decline of the Nambudiri Brahmin community's authority in Kerala[51].

During the 18th and 19th centuries, the Nambudiri Brahmin community in Kerala experienced a significant decline from their previously dominant position. This erosion can be attributed to several factors, with the most prominent being a series of external invasions. The arrival of Portuguese, Dutch, and Mysore forces disrupted the region, causing a population

flight among the Nambudiris. The Mysore invasion, led by Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan, proved particularly detrimental[52]. Their centralized administrative system dismantled the existing feudal system, in which Nambudiris wielded significant influence alongside feudal lords. By establishing direct tax collection from tenants to the crown, the Mysore rulers effectively sidelined the Nambudiris as financial intermediaries, weakening their economic base. These social and economic reforms by the invaders significantly hampered the Nambudiris' ability to maintain their prior control in Kerala.

The arrival of Westerners in Kerala, while disruptive, paradoxically sowed the seeds of social revival among the Nambudiris. Inspired by the reform movements like the *SNDP Yogam*, the *Yogakshema Sabha* emerged in the early 20th century, ushering in a luminous era for the community. Tireless efforts by reformers like Kurur Nambudirippad, V.T. Bhattathirippad, and E.M.S. Nambudirippad chipped away at the ossified social structures, transforming the once-shadowed lives of the Nambudiris. The rise of feeder organizations like the *Nambudiri Yuvajana Sangam* and *Antharjana Samajam* served as a potent catalyst for change, fostering the inclusion of Nambudiri women and a dismantling of the community's orthodox mindset. This period marked a seismic shift for the Nambudiris, who once held an iron grip on Kerala's social and political landscape. It is undeniable that their past influence profoundly shaped Kerala's history, but the winds of change were now undeniably reshaping the very fabric of their community.

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OCCUPATIONAL STRESS LEVEL AMONG RAG PICKERS: A STUDY IN BHUBANESWAR CITY, ODISHA

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Abstract

Rag pickers, who are typically underprivileged and work in informal waste collection, face a variety of health risks as a consequence of their substandard living conditions, exposure to hazardous materials, and lack of access to medical care. This study addresses the levels of occupational stress experienced by rag pickers in Bhubaneswar City, Odisha, a group that plays an important but frequently disregarded role in urban garbage management. The study has three objectives: collect the general information, to measure occupational stress among rag pickers and to study the relationship between various variables and occupational stress among rag pickers.

The purpose of this study is to assess the occupational stress level of 200 rag pickers (95 males and 105 females) in Bhubaneswar, Odisha, where the main authorized municipal solid waste management (MSW) dump is located, namely at the Bhuasuni site and near the Sanik School. Further investigate the relationship between the various components and the stress level of rag pickers. Most respondents reported potential stress, including both male and female rag pickers. Addressing occupational stress among rag pickers necessitates focused interventions such as increasing access to mental health services, improving working conditions, and promoting social participation.

Key words: Rag pickers, occupation, stress, Municipal, solid waste, Well-being

Introduction

The spread of industrialization and thereby urbanization leads to the change in life style and improvement in the standard of living of people which causes the generation of substantial amount of solid waste and hence the management of the waste becomes a major environmental and ecological issues in India. Besides this the global transition from a hunter-gatherer civilization to a postindustrial society result in advancements in a variety of activities leading to rural-urban migration in search of better economic opportunities / employment ultimately the size of population grew in urban areas gradually at a rapid rate. As a result, the municipal solid waste generation has become a big challenge now a days in Indian context[9]. Municipal solid waste is classified into several categories, including food waste, rubbish, institutional waste, commercial waste, street sweeping debris, construction and industrial waste, and so on. Paper, plastic, glass, and metal are additional examples of recyclable garbage. Aside from these, there are various toxic substances such as paints, pesticides, medicines,

and so on, as well as biodegradable organic garbage such as leftover food, fruit, and vegetables[7]. In this context, the role of Rag pickers in solid waste management in the cities/towns in India is considered as important. The rag pickers (or chiffonnier) usually collect the waste materials but wouldn't recycle it rather they use to sale these materials to the buyers at certain price offered by the buyers of these material[6]. Occupational stress is a prevalent issue that affects various sectors of the workforce, often leading to detrimental physical and psychological effects. Among the most vulnerable groups facing significant occupational stress are rag pickers, who engage in the informal recycling industry by collecting and sorting waste materials.

Rag picking is associated with significant health risks, including injuries from sharp objects, exposure to hazardous materials, and the potential for communicable diseases due to unsanitary working environments. Additionally, rag pickers often face socio-economic challenges, such as poverty, lack of education, and social stigma, which compound the stress they experience in their daily lives. The precarious nature of their work, combined with insufficient access to healthcare and social security, places them at an increased risk for both physical and mental health issues.

Significance of the study

The study aims to evaluate the occupational stress levels among rag pickers in Bhubaneswar to explor the various factors contributing to their stress and analyzing the implications for their health and well-being. By understanding the complexities of their work environment and the stressors they encounter, the research seeks to highlight the urgent need for supportive policies and interventions that can improve their living and working conditions.

Review literature

Rag pickers also known as "garbage pickers" have low socio-economic status and their working condition are unfavorable. The work they do is called 3-D work i.e. dirty, dangerous and demanding[16] Informal settlements, as one of the most vulnerable urban areas, are always in unfavorable conditions in terms of various social, economic, and physical indicators[5]. The socio-economic scenario is very bad among rag pickers and they do not have enough education, training and support to do anything else[8]. Housing condition and basic amenities are very poor as most of the rag pickers live near the dumpsite area[1]. Exposure to environmental risk factors has grown rapidly since the 1970s. One of the main reasons for these contributions has been the widely shared concern about the impacts of environmental risk factors to health and quality of life[12]. Waste pickers or rag pickers play essential socioeconomic and environmental scenes in cities of developing countries. Their work helps extend the lifespan of lands, conserve resources, and protect the environment. However, they face challenges such as low earnings, scarcity of materials, and health issues such as injuries, harassment, and low prices for materials with many challenges such as low earnings, scarcity of materials, and health issues such as injuries, harassment, and low prices for materials in Tanzania cities[14]. They have no knowledge of segregations of waste material. During the collection of waste also they do not use any kind of personal protective equipment (PPE) such as gloves and masks[9] work related health problems such as respiratory problems, eye problem, dermatological problems, injuries, general

health problems(cold, cough, fever, diarrhea ,dysentery),road accident, animal bite and frost also significantly high among rag pickers[11].Musculoskeletal disorder such as lower backpain, upper back pain, knees, shoulder, neck and ankles are significantly among rag pickers[16].As rag picking is a hazardous work and social challenges ,most of the adult rag pickers are used substance abuse and some of them are involved anti-social activities as well[2].Click or tap here to enter text.A double burden of malnutrition including both underweight and obesity is more prevalent among rag pickers[4,3]. Occupational health hazards among rag pickers is more prevalent and statistically significance relationship between the number of days worked at the landfill and the health conditions of the waste pickers[17].

Objectives of the study

The current study OCCUPATIONAL STRESS LEVEL AMONG RAG PICKERS: A STUDY IN BHUBANESWAR CITY, ODISHA focuses on the following objectives.

1. To study the general information of rag pickers.

2. To assess the occupational stress among rag pickers by using the stress scale.

3. To study the different aspects associated with occupational stress among rag pickers with respective to Age, types of houses, types of family, size of family, education, socio economic condition, migration, working condition and health care services.

Methodology

The present study is conducted in Bhubaneswar where the main authorized municipal solid waste management (MSW) dump is located i.e., at Bhuasuni site and near Sanik School. The primary data are collected from 200 samples rag pickers households having at least one person engaged in the profession of rag picking. Occupational stress level was assessed by using the workplace stress scale,1978 The Marlin Company and American institute of stress. There are eight questions having five option and the total score was 40. The level of stress was categories under four head from potentially dangerous stress to lower level of stress. The data was collected on the basis of interview scheduled method from the respondents. Then they were categories under different level of occupational stress according to the score obtained (Annexure-1)

Table-1: Occupational stress scale

Sl. No.	Categories	Score	Percentage (%)
1	Lower	<15	33
2	Moderate	21-25	21
3	Severe	26-30	9
4	Potentially Dangerous	31-40	2

Chi square test has used to know the associated between different aspect such as age, socioeconomic status, education, types of family, family size, migration, working condition, frequency of meal and health care service with stress level.

1.6. Result and Discussion: -

Table-2: General information of rag pickers

Table-2: General information of rag pickers

General information	Male (%) N=95	Female (%) N=105	Total (%) N=200	Chi-square value
Gender	95 (47.5)	105 (52.5)	200 (100)	
Age				
20-30	39(41.05)	31(29.52)	70	
31-40	33(34.73)	35(33.33)	68	
41-50	9 (9.47)	27(25.71)	36	χ^2 =9.65*
50 above	14(14.73)	12(11.42)	26	
Total	95(100	105(100)	200(100)	

It was found from the study that more percentage (52.5%) of female respondents were engaged in rag picking profession as compare to male respondents i.e., 47.5%. It was also observed that when compared to older age groups, the percentage of young people aged between 20 to 40 years, both male and female (69%), was found to be higher.

Table-3: Family information of rag pickers.

Family information	Male (%) N=95	Female (%) N=105	Total (%) N=200	Chi-square Value
Nature of Family				
Nuclear	76 (80.0)	82 (78.09)	158	χ^2 =0.10
Joint	19 (20.0)	23 (21.90)	42	NS
Total	95 (100)	105(100)	200 (100)	
Family Size				
2-5	85 (42.5)	95 (47.5)	180	χ^2 =0.05
6-10	10 (5.00)	10 (5.00)	20	NS
Total	95 (47.5)	105 (52.5)	200 (100)	
Education				
Illiterate	47 (23.5)	82 (41.00)	129	
primary	31 (15.5)	16 (8.00)	47	χ^2 =18.49*
Middle	12 (6.0)	7 (3.5)	19	
Secondary	5 (2.5)	0	5	
Total	95 (47.5)	105 (52.5)	200 (100)	

*=Significant & NS=Not Significant

It was revealed that the majority of respondents (79.0%) belonged to nuclear families as opposed to joint families (21.0%). The majority of respondents (90%) had 2-5 number of children, which was greater than the respondents who belong to larger family size of 6-10 i.e.,10%. Literacy rates among rag pickers were discovered to be extremely low during the course of the investigation.

Table-4: Monthly income of rag pickers according to gender.

Income group	No. of respondents (%)			Chi square value
	Male (%) N=95	Female (%) N=105	Total	
Less than 3000	01 (6.66)	14 (93.33)	15	
3001-5000	70 (44.58)	87 (55.41)	157	χ^2 =28.69*
5001-7000	07 (100)	0 (0)	07	
7001-9000	12 (75.0)	04 (25.0)	16	
Above 9000	05 (100)	0 (0)	05	
Total	95 (100)	105 (100)	200 (100)	

*Significant and NS= Not Significant

Table 4 shows that majority percentage of males (44.58%) and females (55.41%) in the income range of Rs. 3001-5000 per month. It was also noted that more

percentage of female had income less than or equal to Rs. 5000/- while more percentage of male had income more than Rs. 5000/- per month

Table-5: Types of houses of rag pickers

Types of houses	Male (%) N=95	Female (%) N=105	Total (%) N=200	Chi square value
Kuccha house	7 (7.36)	22(20.96)	29	χ^2 =7.42*
Tent near Dumpsite with Woods and other poor material	88(92.64)	83 (79.04)	171	
Total	95 (100)	105 (100)	200 (100)	

*Significant and NS= Not Significant

       The types of house conditions were not good among the rag pickers. It was found that the majority of respondents both male and female (85.5%) had tent houses near dumpsites with wood and other poor materials such as polythene, cardboard, etc.

Table-6: Migration status of rag pickers

Migration status	Male (%) N=95	Female (%) N=105	Total
Yes	95 (47.5)	105 (52.5)	200 (100)
No	0	0	0

       It was observed that cent percent of respondents both male 47.5% and female 52.5% were migrated from different areas. The result of the present study also supports the findings **of Aklian S.T., (2016)** that cent percent of rag pickers migrated from their home.

Table-7: Daily working hour of rag pickers

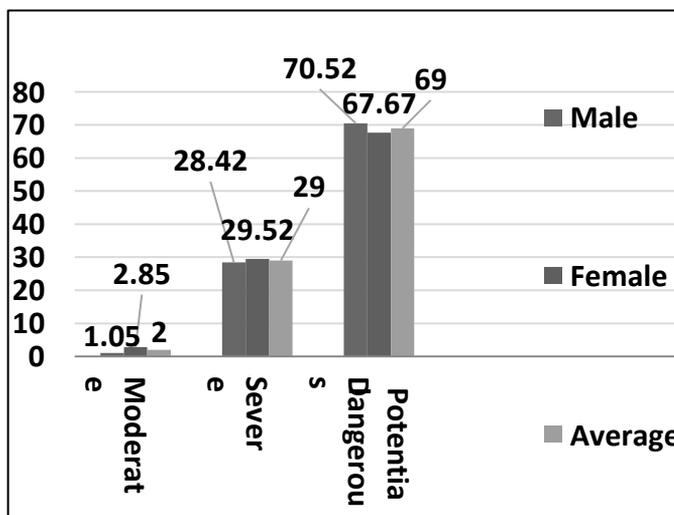| Variables	Working hour(hr./day)	Male (%) N=95	Female (%) N=105	Total (%) N=200	Chi square value
Nature of work	Part time	-			
	Full time	95 (47.5)	105 (52.5)	200 (100)	
Working hour per day	3 to 6 hours	08 (8.42)	27 (25.71)	35	χ^2 =15.22*
	7 to 9 hr.	31 (32.63)	37 (35.23)	68	
	10 to 12 hr.	48 (50.52)	41 (39.04)	89	
	12 & above	08 (8.42)	----	08	
	Total	95 (100)	105 (100)	200 (100)	

It was revealed that cent percent of rag pickers worked full-time. Among them majority 89% both males and females work for 10 to 12 hours.

Table-8: Occupational stress level among rag pickers

Score	Stress Level	Male (%) (95)	Female (%) (105)	Total (%) (200)
15 or <15 (33%)	Lower	-	-	-
16-20 (35%)	Fairly low	-	-	-
21-25 (21%)	Moderate	1 (1.05)	3 (2.85)	4 (2.0)
26-30 (9%)	Severe	27 (28.42)	31 (29.52)	58 (29.0)
31-40 (2%)	Potentially dangerous	67 (70.52)	71 (67.62)	138 (69.0)
TOTAL		95 (100)	105 (100)	200 (100)

Figure-2: Distribution of Occupational stress level among rag pickers

The above information shows the occupational stress level of rag pickers. It was found that most of the respondents both male and female had potentially dangerous stress level i.e., 69.0%as compared to moderate stress (2.0%) and severe stress (29.0%) respectively. None of the respondents had lower and fairly low occupational stress. However moderate level stress & severe level stress was found more among female respondents i.e., 2.85% %29,52%respectively, while potentially dangerous level of stress was more among male respondents i.e., 70.52%. There was no much difference in prevalence of level of stress between male & female respondents.

Occupational stress with various parameters

Waste pickers faced different types of challenges in their work place as well their family. The above figure indicates the different aspect associated with occupational stress such as age, socioeconomic status, education, types of family, family size, migration, working condition, frequency of meal and health care service **Table-9: Occupational stress and age of rag pickers.**

Age (Yrs.) Occupational	20-30 (%)	31-40 (%)	41-50 (%)	>50 (%)	Total (%)	Chi-square Value

Stress							
Male (95)	Moderate	-	1 (100)	-	-	1 (100)	χ^2 =2.40 NS
	Severe	15 (55.55)	11 (40.74)	1 (3.07)		27 (100)	
	Potential Stress	32 (46.26)	24 (35.82)	9 (13.43)	2 (2.98)	67 (100)	
	Total	**47**	**36**	**10**	**2**	**95 (100)**	
Female (105)	Moderate	2 (66.66)	1 (33.33)	-	-	3 (100)	χ^2 =28.46*
	Severe	18 (58.06)	10 (32.25)	3 (9.67)		31 (100)	
	Potential stress	33 (46.47)	22 (30.98)	12 (16.90)	4 (5.63)	71 (100)	
	Total	**53**	**33**	**15**	**4**	**105 (100)**	

*=Significant & NS=Not Significant

Table 9 shows the occupational stress of rag pickers based on their age. It was found that moderate stress was found among few respondents accounting for 66.66% of those aged 20-30 years. Severe stress was found to be prevalent in female respondents i.e., 58.06% in the age range of 20-30 years, while in case of male respondents it was more prominent in the age group of 31-40 years. There was a little variation in potential stress levels between male and female respondents in the same age group of 20-30 years i.e., 46.26% & 46.47% respectively. Statistically, there was no association between level of occupational stress of men respondents' and their age, however, there was a significant relationship observed in level of occupational stress and their age female rag pickers found in this study. Thus, it may be inferred that both rag pickers chose this career in their early adulthood to sustain their family's economic condition. According to their reports, early pregnancy, along with early marriage, maybe a source of work stress for them.

Table 10. depict the information regarding the occupational stress and types of houses of rag pickers. It was found that moderate, severe and potential occupational stress was found more prevalent among both male and female respondents those who had tent house near the dump site area. Cent percent of male, 66.66% of female had moderate occupational stress, 70.96% of female & 70.37% of male had severe occupational stress and 64.78% of female and 62.68% of male had potential occupational stress. It means there was no statistically significant relationship between occupational stress and types of houses of the respondents.

Types of houses / Occupational stress		Kuccha (%)	Tent house near dump site (%)	Total (%)	Chi -square value
Male (95)	Moderate	-	1 (100)	1 (100)	χ^2 =1.10 NS
	Severe	8 (29.62)	19 (70.37)	27 (100)	
	Potential stress	25 (37.31)	42 (62.68)	67 (100)	
	Total	**33**	**62**	**95 (100)**	
Female (105)	Moderate	1 (33.33)	2 (66.66)	3 (100)	χ^2 =0.37 NS
	Severe	9 (29.03)	22 (70.96)	31 (100)	
	Potential stress	25 (35.21)	46 (64.78)	71 (100)	
	Total	**35**	**70**	**105 (100)**	

Table-10: Occupational stress and types of houses of rag pickers.
*=Significant & NS=Not Significant

Table-11: Occupational stress and types of family of rag pickers.

Types of Family / Occupational stress		Types of family			
		Nuclear (%)	Joint (%)	Total (%)	Chi -square value
Male (95)	Moderate	1 (100)	-	1 (100)	χ^2 =0.74 NS
	Severe	7 (25.29)	20 (74.07)	27 (100)	
	Potential stress	9 (13.43)	58 (86.56)	67 (100)	
	Total	**17**	**78**	**95 (100)**	
Female (105)	Moderate	2 (66.66)	1 (33.33)	3 (100)	χ^2 =9.51*
	Severe	9 (29.03)	22 (70.96)	31 (100)	
	Potential stress	8 (11.26)	63 (88.73)	71 (100)	
	Total	**19**	**86**	**105 (100)**	

*=Significant & NS=Not Significant

Table 11 depict the occupational stress and types of family of rag pickers. It was found that cent percent of male respondents had moderate occupational stress belong to joint family. Severe occupational stress was found to be more prevalent

among male respondents i.e., 74.07% in comparisons to female respondents. While potential stress was found more among female respondents in joint family. i.e., 70.96%. Whereas potential stress was found more prevalent among female respondents i.e., 88.73%. in comparisons to male respondents i.e., 86.56% in joint family found in this study. There was a statistically significant link between occupational stress and types of family of female respondents, but no significant association between male respondents and their stress level found in this study.

Table-12: Occupational stress, gender and size of family of rag pickers.

Size of family members / Occupational stress		Size of family members			
		2-5 Members (%)	6-10 Members (%)	Total Members (%)	Chi -square value
Male (95)	Moderate	1 (100)	-	1 (100)	χ^2=1.06 NS
	Severe	21 (77.77)	6 (66.66)	27 (100)	
	Potential stress	7 (10.44)	60 (89.55)	67 (100)	
	Total	**29**	**66**	**95 (100)**	
Female (105)	Moderate	2 (66.66)	1 (33.33)	3 (100)	χ^2 =15.15*
	Severe	11 (35.48)	20 (64.51)	31 (100)	
	Potential stress	6 (8.45)	65 (91.54)	71 (100)	
	Total	**19**	**86**	**105 (100)**	

*=Significant & NS=Not Significant

Table 12 depict the occupational stress and size of family of rag pickers. It was found that cent percent moderate occupational stress was more found among male respondents who had 2-5 number of family members in comparisons to female rag pickers i.e.,66.66%. Severe occupational stress was found more frequent among male respondents i.e., 77.77% having 2-5 number of family members whereas potential stress was more prevalent among female respondents i.e., 91.54% having 6-10 number of family members found in this study. Statistically there was no significant relationship between the occupational stress and size of family members among male respondents whereas a highly significant relationship of occupational stress level of female respondents and size of family found in this study.

Table-13: Occupational stress and education of rag pickers.

Educational Status QOL	Illiterate (%)	Primary (1-5th Class) (%)	Middle (5th-8th Class) (%)	Secondary (8th-10th Class) (%)	Total (%)	Chi -Square Value

						Total	
Male (95)	Moderate	1 (100)				1 (100)	χ^2 =27.60*
	Severe	13 (48.14)	10 (37.03)	2 (7.40)	2 (7.40)	27 (100)	
	Potential stress	56 (83.58)	5 (7.46)	4 (5.97)	2 (7.40)	67 (100)	
	Total	**70**	**15**	**6**	**3**	**95 (100)**	
Female (105)	Moderate	2 (66.66)	1 (33.33)	-	-	3 (100)	χ^2 =7.84
	Severe	27 (87.09)	3 (9.67)	1 (3.22)	-	31 (100)	
	Potential stress	65 (91.54)	4 (5.63)	2 (2.81)	-	71 (100)	
	Total	**94**	**8**	**3**	**-**	**105 (100)**	

Table 13 shows information about rag pickers' occupational stress and education. Moderate and severe occupational stress was found to be more frequent in female rag pickers who were illiterate i.e. 66.66% and 87.09%, respectively. While more percentage of male rag pickers having primary education had severe stress i.e., 37.03%. In the case of potential stress, it was found that more prevalent among male respondents i.e. 91.80%, compared to female respondents i.e. 83.58%, who were illiterate, but the difference was minimal. There was a statistically significant association between occupational stress and education among male rag pickers, but no significant relationship was found among female rag pickers.

According to their report, because they chose the profession at a young age, they believed that they did not need any kind of schooling to achieve it. No advanced education is required for this position. As a result, their educational status was found unsatisfactory, which needed to be addressed.

Table-14: Occupational stress and socioeconomic status of rag pickers.

Socio economic status	Average of monthly income (Rs.)	Average of monthly expenditure (Rs.)	Average of monthly saving (Rs.)	No. of Respond ents (%)

Quality of life					
Male (95)	Moderate	4690.12	4502.4	187.72	1 (100)
	Severe	4685.15	4497.74	187.4	27 (100)
	Potential stress	4762.52	4619.64	142.88	67 (100)
Female (105)	Moderate	3565.40	3422.78	142.62	3 (100)
	Severe	3445.63	3307.80	137.83	31 (100)
	Potential stress	3430.45	3293.23	137.22	71 (100)
	Total				200 (100)

*=Significant & NS=Not Significant

Table 14 displays information related to occupational stress with monthly income, monthly expenditure and monthly saving of rag pickers. Both male and female respondents with moderate occupational stress had greater average monthly salaries of Rs. 4690.12 and Rs. 3565.40, respectively, than respondents with severe and potential stress. According to gender prospective analysis, female respondents earned less per month than male respondents. Average monthly income, average monthly expenses, and average monthly savings were shown to be greater than other stress levels, including severe occupational stress and prospective occupational stress. With just 3% of total revenue going from Rs. 142.62 to Rs. 187.72, savings were negligible. Compared to female respondents, men respondents had higher incomes and savings

Table-15: Occupational stress and Migration of rag pickers.

Migration Status / QOL		Intrastate (%)	Interstate (%)	Total (%)	Chi -square value
MALE (95)	Moderate	1 (100)	-	1 (100)	χ^2 =0.30 NS
	Severe	4 (14.81)	23 (85.18)	27 (100)	
	Potential Stress	6 (8.95)	61 (91.04)	67 (100)	
	Total	11	84	95 (100)	
FEMALE (105)	Moderate	1 (33.33)	2 (66.66)	3 (100)	
	Severe	5	26	31	

		(16.12)	(83.87)	(100)	χ^2 =2.65
	Potential Stress	7 (10.44)	64 (90.14)	71 (100)	NS
	Total	**13**	**92**	**105 (100)**	

*=Significant & NS=Not Significant

Table 15 shows the migratory status and occupational stress of rag pickers. In contrast to 66.66% of female respondents who had interstate migration, it was revealed that all male respondents who had intrastate migration had moderate occupational stress. Compared to 83.87% of female respondents, 85.18% of male respondents to intrastate migration reported experiencing significant work stress. In intrastate migration, it was shown that male respondents (91.04%) were more likely than female respondents (91.14%) to experience potential stress. The study showed no statistically significant correlation between the migration status and occupational stress of rag pickers, either male or female.

Table-16: Occupational stress and working condition of rag pickers.

Working condition / Quality of life		Average of distance covered/day (Km.)	Average working hour (hr.)	Average of Work experience (Year)	Average of Rest hour per day (hrs)	No of respondents (%)
Male (95)	Moderate	10.80	9.85	13.73	7.12	1 (100)
	Severe	10.97	11.26	15.05	7.20	27 (100)
	Potential stress	10.82	11.19	14.32	7.05	67 (100)
Female (105)	Moderate	11.52	8.98	14.41	7.07	3 (100)
	Severe	11.45	8.81	16.45	7.04	31 (100)
	Potential stress	11.89	8.62	14.48	7.08	71 (100)
Total						**200 (100)**

Table 16 shows the relationship between occupational stress and the working conditions of rag pickers. The occupational stress of rag pickers was assessed through

different parameters, including distance covered per day, working hours per day, work experience, and rest hours per day.

Distance covered per day: -

In terms of daily distance travelled, more female respondents were found to have potential occupational stress than males. Female respondents with moderate, severe, and potential stress travelled around 11 km daily to seek waste products due to a lack of transportation, covering 1-3 places for waste collection. There was little difference between male and female respondents in the distance covered for rag pickers.

Average working hours: -

Moderate occupational stress was shown to be less frequent in both male and female respondents who worked 9.85 and 8.98 hours per day from early morning to evening, respectively. On the other hand, severe occupational stress was found to be more frequent in males than females, with 11.26 hours per day for females and 8.81 hours per day for males, respectively. Potential stress was shown to be more widespread in male respondents than female respondents, with 11.19 hr/day and 8.62 hr/day, respectively. According to them, they miss social and family gatherings and struggle to maintain a work-life balance, which influences occupational stress.

Rest hour per day: -

With respect to all kinds of stress levels, i.e., moderate, severe, and potential stress, both male and female respondents were taken less than 8 hours of rest each day. According to their estimate, they start their job early in the morning and travel around 11 km daily. As a result, they have no time to return home and rest. If time allows, they unwind somewhere near the dumping site, generally under a tree. Some female respondents claimed that they begin their normal chores, such as supper preparation, child care, and other domestic activities, as soon as they arrive home. Female rag pickers had a more difficult time balancing work and life. Thus, sleeping time among rag pickers for less than 8 hours may affect their stress level.

Work experience: -

Moderate occupational stress was found more prevalent among female respondents, i.e., 14.41 years, compared to male respondents, i.e., 13. 73years.Severe occupational stress was also found to be more frequent among female respondents in comparison to males having more years of experience, i.e., 16.45 years and 15.05 years, respectively. Potential stress was found to be more prevalent among both males and females without many years of difference in work experience, i.e., 14.32 & 14.48, respectively. As per the report, years of experience have not improved their economic and social status in society.

Table-17: Occupational stress and frequency of meal of rag pickers.

Frequency of meal / Occupational Stress		Two times a day (%)	Three times a day (%)	Total (%)	Chi -square value
Male (95)	Moderate	1 (100)	-	1 (100)	$\chi^2 =1.53$
	Severe	19 (70.37)	8 (29.62)	27 (100)	

	Potential Stress	61 (91.04)	6 (8.95)	67 (100)	NS
	Total	**81**	**14**	**95 (100)**	
Female (105)	Moderate	2 (66.66)	1 (33.33)	3 (100)	$\chi^2 = 20.74*$
	Severe	22 (70.96)	9 (29.03)	31 (100)	
	Potential Stress	66 (92.95)	5 (7.04)	71 (100)	
	Total	**90**	**15**	**105 (100)**	

*=Significant & NS=Not Significant

Table 17 depict the occupational stress and frequency of meal of rag pickers. It was found that moderate occupational stress was found among cent percent among male rag pickers in comparisons to female respondents i.e., 66.66% having two times meal per day. There was no much difference between male and female respondents having severe occupational stress 70.37% and 70.96% respectively having two times meal per day. Potential occupational stress was more prevalent among female respondents in comparison to male respondents i.e., 91.04% who took two meal per day. There was a statistically significant differences between occupational stress and frequency of meal among male rag pickers whereas a strong association was found between occupational stress and no. of meal of female respondents in this present study

1.7. Conclusion: -

Work-related stress, also known as occupational stress, is a form of psychological stress caused by the demands and responsibilities of one's job or work environment. It is a regular occurrence among people from many professions and sectors. While some stress may be motivating and useful, excessive or prolonged professional stress can be harmful to a person's physical and mental health. Work load, job instability and job control, role conflict, interpersonal conflict, work-life balance, physical condition, and emotional labour are all important characteristics of occupational stress.

Rag pickers experience potential levels of occupational stress due to a combination of factors including economic instability, social stigma, health risks, lack of basic amenities, nature of work leading both psychological and emotional strain, low wages and precarious working conditions further exacerbate their stress levels. Additionally, the social isolation and marginalization of rag pickers contribute to a sense of hopelessness, affecting their overall well-being. To addressing occupational stress among rag pickers requires targeted interventions, such as providing access to mental health services, improving working conditions, and fostering social inclusion. Community support programs and awareness campaigns could also play a crucial role in improving their livelihoods and reducing stress. it is vital for policymakers and community organizations to recognize the occupational stress experienced by rag pickers and implement strategies that promote their well-being and dignity. By addressing these issues, we can contribute to a more inclusive and supportive environment for one of the most marginalized segments of the population.

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ETHNIC MINORITIES IN SOUTH ASIA – A STUDY OF THE NEPALESE MINORITY IN BHUTAN

Veeragoni Shirisha

Abstract

This research paper explores the intricate tapestry of South Asian ethnicities, focusing on the Nepalese minority in Bhutan. South Asia, home to diverse countries like Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka, showcases linguistic, cultural, and historical richness. While the majority populations align with Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, and Iranic groups, minority communities with languages like Austroasiatic and Tibeto-Burman add further diversity. The study zooms in on the Lhotshampa community, Nepalese minorities in Bhutan, who migrated in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, significantly influencing the country's cultural landscape. However, historical events, particularly late 20th century policies, pose challenges to their citizenship, cultural assimilation, and, in some cases, result in forced migration. The research dissects complexities around the Lhotshampas, addressing citizenship, human rights, and cultural preservation. It explores the Bhutanese refugee crisis, revealing historical injustices. Additionally, it investigates Lhotshampas' efforts to maintain cultural identity and seek justice. Comprehensive understanding requires exploration of historical contexts, socio-economic conditions, cultural practices, and government policy impacts. The paper underscores the need to consider diverse perspectives within majority and minority communities to foster inclusivity and address the intricate dimensions of this sensitive issue.

Key words: South Asian Ethnicities, Nepalese Minority, Lhotshampa Community, Bhutanese, Refugee, Crisis, Preservation

Introduction

The South Asian subcontinent is renowned for its diverse cultural tapestry, shaped by centuries of history, trade, and migration (Tinker, 1990). Amidst this diversity, Bhutan stands out for its unique blend of indigenous ethnic groups and the presence of a notable Nepalese minority known as the Lhotshampas (Sampford, 2013). The Lhotshampas have deep-rooted historical ties to Nepal and have played a pivotal role in shaping the cultural landscape of Bhutan since their migration in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Williams, 2020). South Asia is a distinctive subregion of Asia, encompassing the expansive Indo-Gangetic Plain and the Indian Peninsula (Kenoyer, 1995). Key countries constituting this subcontinent include Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Pakistan, Nepal, and Sri Lanka, with Afghanistan and the Maldives also recognized as integral parts (Ahmad, 2009). While commonly referred to as the Indian subcontinent, this term is sometimes specifically associated with Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan. The geographical features of South Asia are defined by formidable mountain ranges such as the Hindu Kush in the northeast, the Karakoram Range in the central north, and the

majestic Himalayas in the northwest (Searle, 2013). To the south, the region is bordered by the Arabian Sea in the southwest, the Indian Ocean in the central south, and the Bay of Bengal in the southeast (Grimmett, Inskipp & Inskipp, 2016).

The study of the Nepalese minority in Bhutan provides insights into the intricate dynamics of identity, displacement, and cultural preservation in South Asia. By examining historical contexts, socio-economic conditions, and the impact of government policies, this research contributes to a comprehensive understanding of the challenges faced by minority communities. Acknowledging the importance of diverse perspectives within both majority and minority populations is crucial for fostering inclusivity and addressing the multifaceted issues surrounding the Nepalese minority in Bhutan.

South Asia

The heart of South Asia lies in the Indo-Gangetic Plain, formed by the amalgamation of alluvial plains carved by the significant rivers—Indus, Ganges (Ganga), and Brahmaputra (Sen, 1999). This plain, nestled south of the mountains, serves as a fertile ground due to sediment deposits from earlier marine and continental sources. While the Ganges and Brahmaputra basins, as well as the Indus basin, boast rich soils, the fringes of the Indus basin transition into sandy deserts (Pletcher, 2010). The Indian Peninsula and Sri Lanka feature plateaus and tablelands, including the extensive Deccan Plateau uplifted during the Mesozoic and Cenozoic eras (Kumar, et al., 2020). Notable geographical elements encompass tablelands with elevated margins such as the Western and Eastern Ghats, as well as terraced and dissected plateaus adorned with lava mantles (Kale, 2010).

South Asia stands as a crucial region in Asia, heralding one of the world's earliest civilizations—the Indus civilization. Despite a historical narrative marked by ethnic, linguistic, and political diversities, the people of South Asia are bound by cultural and religious affinities. A rich repository of ancient textual literature in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and regional languages serves as a significant unifying force. Shared elements of music, dance, ritual customs, worship practices, and literary ideals further underscore the cultural coherence prevalent throughout South Asia (Gilbert, 2017). South Asian ethnic groups comprise diverse populations across India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, the Maldives, Sri Lanka, and, with some distinction, Afghanistan. While Afghanistan is often considered part of Central Asia, it is occasionally grouped with South Asia (Masica, 1993). Notably, Afghanis are not typically classified as South Asian ethnic groups. The primary linguistic fabric of South Asia consists of three major groups: Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, and Iranic (Guha, 2019).

In India, Nepal, and Sri Lanka, societal structures historically centered around divisions into castes and clans linked to professions (Subedi, 2016). These divisions lacked official recognition for an extended period in India, with affirmative action primarily focusing on scheduled castes and tribes post-Independence. In contemporary India, people are categorized based on the languages they speak, reflecting the immense linguistic diversity with 1,652 languages spoken (Upadhyay & Hasnain, 2017). Indo-Aryans predominantly constitute the ethno-linguistic majority across the region, prevalent in India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and the Maldives. Dravidians, prominent in southern India, also extend into northern

and eastern Sri Lanka and a small region of Pakistan. Iranic peoples, concentrated in Pakistan's Balochistan and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa regions, contribute significantly to South Asian diversity. Dardic peoples, a minority within the Indo-Aryan language group, inhabit northern Pakistan and regions of Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh, India (Raja, 2021).

Minority groups, speaking languages rooted in the Austroasiatic and Tibeto-Burman families, reside predominantly around Ladakh, Northeast India, Nepal, Bhutan, and the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh. Additionally, isolated populations such as the Andamanese in the Andaman Islands, Kusunda in central Nepal, Vedda in Sri Lanka, and Nihali in central India represent unique linguistic and ethnic minorities (Agnihotri, 2021). The Hunza valley in Pakistan is home to speakers of Burushaski, an isolated language (Grune, 1998). South Asian ethnic traditions exhibit divergence, influenced by external cultures, particularly in northwestern regions, border areas, and bustling ports with heightened external cultural interactions. Genetic diversity is notable, with northeastern South Asian ethnic groups sharing genetic affinities with East or Southeast Asian populations. Conversely, genetically isolated groups like the Jarawa people in the Andaman Islands have not experienced significant genetic influences (Bose & Jalal, 2022). The Indo-Aryans form the largest ethno-linguistic group in South Asia, with a total population of approximately 1 billion. Among them, native Hindi speakers constitute the largest sub-group, numbering more than 470 million. It is crucial to note that these classifications are primarily linguistic and not exclusively genetic. This complex interplay of linguistic, cultural, and genetic diversity contributes to the rich tapestry of South Asian ethnicities (Molinos, et al., 2016).

Historical Context

To understand the dynamics of the Nepalese minority in Bhutan, it is crucial to delve into the historical backdrop of their migration. The late 19th and early 20th centuries witnessed significant movements of Nepalese communities into Bhutan, contributing not only to the country's workforce but also to its cultural diversity (Singh, 2017). Over time, however, Bhutan implemented policies that presented challenges to the Lhotshampas, impacting aspects of citizenship, cultural assimilation, and, in some instances, leading to forced migration (Hutt, 2012).

Bhutan, nestled in the eastern ridges of the Himalayas, stands as a profoundly religious and culturally rich country in South Asia. Historically, it remained a secluded kingdom, isolated from the global arena (Cooper, Yong & Duling, 2020). However, the dawn of the 20th century witnessed transformative changes with the establishment of the Wangchuk dynasty, marking the initiation of rapid development in Bhutan. Prioritizing development initiatives and improved connectivity, the kingdom gradually shed its isolation, and a notable pace of change ensued. Under the reign of King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk (1952–72), Bhutan underwent radical governmental reforms, steering away from absolute monarchy in the 1990s and ultimately transitioning to parliamentary democracy in 2008. Geographically, Bhutan's landscape is dominated by the Himalayas, rendering much of the country hilly and mountainous, limiting its fertility. The economic nucleus of Bhutan is concentrated in the fertile valleys of the Lesser Himalayas, interspersed by intricate ridges extending from north to south (Turner, Chuki & Tshering, 2011).

Bhutan is strategically positioned between India and China, with evidence of its existence dating back to 2000 B.C., as indicated by excavated artefacts like stone tools and weapons (Mason, 2014). Never colonized, Bhutan's modern history commenced in 1907 when Ugyen Wangchuck, the first King of Bhutan, consolidated the country under monarchical rule. In 2008, Bhutan embraced constitutional monarchy with the adoption of the Constitution of Bhutan, paving the way for democratic elections held in 2008 and 2013, with the third round slated for 2018 (Pandey, 2023).

The Ngalongpas and Sharchokpas, both originating from Bhutan, share a Buddhist faith, but distinctions emerge in their linguistic and religious affiliations. While the Ngalongpas follow the Kagyupa sect of Mahayana Buddhism, the Sharchokpas adhere to the Nyingmapa sect. Bhutan's official religion is the Drukpa Kagyu sect of Mahayana Buddhism. In the 16th century, Ngawang Namgyal, a Ngalongpa, unified Bhutan's valleys, triumphing over Tibetan invasions and establishing a theoretical government. Namgyal became the inaugural Zhabdrung Rinpoche, with successive Rinpoche acting as spiritual leaders akin to the Dalai Lama in Tibet (Sarkar, 2008).

Bhutan, Nepal, and India, all landlocked and neighboring, share cultural and religious affinities, fostering ancient and historical relations. While Hinduism strongly influences India, Nepal, despite its secular stance, has Hinduism as its predominant religion, influenced by India (Suwedy, 2022). Buddhism, Bhutan's state religion, traces its origins to India, where Gautama Buddha was born and propagated the faith. India, being the largest and most influential in the region, serves as the economic and political hub, facilitating robust ties with its neighbors (Gautam, 2008). Despite occasional differences, the interdependence on Indian markets, economic activities, and trade underscores the strength of relations among these nations. Borders pose no barriers to movement, trade, or religious practices (Mehta, 2009). India's pivotal role extends to security cooperation, especially with Bhutan, the smallest and least populous among the three. Bhutan, owing to its mountainous terrain and limited resources, relies on India for security and foreign affairs. In contrast, Nepal, with a larger population and a robust army renowned for its bravery, maintains a more self-reliant security apparatus. Historical relations between these countries have generally been strong, yet the influx of Nepali refugees in the 20th century strained Bhutan-Nepal ties, introducing a discord that has impacted their relationship (Tortajada & Saklani, 2018).

Challenges Faced by the Lhotshampa Community

The Lhotshampa community faced multifaceted challenges, particularly in the latter part of the 20th century. Government policies, ostensibly aimed at preserving Bhutanese culture, inadvertently marginalized the Lhotshampas (Whitecross, 2016). This resulted in questions surrounding their citizenship, issues of cultural assimilation, and, in certain cases, forced displacement. The Bhutanese refugee crisis emerged as a consequence, revealing the complexities of identity, belonging, and historical injustices faced by the Nepalese minority (Tobor, 2017).

The twentieth century marked a transformative era for the Kingdom of Bhutan, particularly under the reign of the Wangchuk dynasty established in 1907. King Ugyen

Wangchuk, the inaugural monarch of the dynasty, implemented significant reforms that modernized the government system and elevated Bhutan to the status of a developed and civilized nation. His visionary initiatives garnered global recognition for Bhutanese culture and civilization. In pursuit of national development, King Ugyen Wangchuk undertook extensive social and developmental projects, including the construction of roads, educational institutions, schools, and colleges. He prioritized the provision of essential services such as electricity, water, and healthcare, contributing to Bhutan's progress on the world stage (Sinha, 2001).

The circumstances surrounding the migration of Lhotsampas from Nepal have been subject to various theories. According to Bhutanese historian Phuntsho (2013), Lhotsampas were initially recruited from Nepal to work as laborers, primarily involved in extracting lumber from the forests of southern Bhutan. However, anecdotal evidence suggests that the Bhutanese government intentionally resettled the Lhotsampas in the hot, humid, and malaria-infested forests of Southern Bhutan. This strategic move aimed to create a buffer with the southern neighbor, India, and to exploit the economic potential of the forests for timber extraction, agriculture, and other produce. In those times, Bhutanese individuals preferred to reside in more temperate regions, avoiding settlement in the southern areas (Ayoob, 1989).

In Bhutan, the Nepalese emigrants were historically regarded as mere laborers, often overlooked with their localities deprived of basic facilities. As large-scale development projects commenced, drawing Nepali laborers for agricultural work, their numbers exceeded one lakh (Iqbal, 2010). Over time, Nepali immigrants considered Bhutan their homeland, yet their areas remained underdeveloped. Faced with prolonged neglect and lacking basic amenities, they raised their voice against disparity, protesting discrimination and submitting memorandums to the king. In response, the king acknowledged their concerns, passing a citizenship Bill in 1958 to grant Bhutanese citizenship and integrate them into society. Ethnic Nepalis gained representation in the Bhutan assembly, and developmental initiatives, including educational institutions and healthcare systems, were introduced. A five-year program aimed at furthering development in these areas was initiated (Whitecross, 2016).

The surge in Nepalese immigrants in Bhutan raised concerns within the government about the potential dominance of Nepali culture over Bhutanese identity. Fearful of the Ngalongs and Sarchops, the majority tribes, becoming a minority, the government aimed to preserve the distinct Bhutanese identity associated with these tribes (Pattanaik, 1998). The 1975 Sikkim incident, where Nepalese immigrants outnumbered the original Buddhist population, heightened Bhutan's apprehensions. Observing the demand for Gorkhaland in Darjeeling and political movements among Nepalese immigrants, Bhutan worried about similar demands within its borders (Hutt, 2012). In 1989, a Nepalese newspaper highlighted discrimination against Nepalese-origin Bhutanese, emphasizing their underrepresentation in various sectors despite comprising 53 percent of the population. Bhutanese authorities feared that this discontent might escalate, mirroring movements in Darjeeling or Sikkim, prompting stricter measures to curb the perceived threat (Sanborne, 2022).

Initially, Bhutan attempted to assimilate Nepalese immigrants by implementing stringent measures. In 1977, a law prohibited the entry and settlement of Nepali immigrants, mandating

passports and visas for work in Bhutan. To acquire citizenship, proficiency in Bhutanese language and knowledge of its history became compulsory, posing challenges due to cultural differences. The government aimed to bridge these gaps but faced resistance, leading to the enactment of a stricter citizenship law in 1985. This law allowed citizenship revocation for those opposing the government, annulling the 1958 citizenship law. A 1988 census was announced to enforce the new law, identify illegal immigrants, and solidify Bhutanese identity (Thieme & Wyss, 2005).

The anxiety surrounding the census and government policies triggered a petition submitted to the King in April 1988 by two southern Bhutanese members of the Royal Advisory Council, Tek Nath Rizal and B. P. Bhandari. The petition raised concerns about the census procedures and retroactive application of the 1985 Citizenship Act, seeking the King's intervention for a resolution. However, instead of addressing the issues, Tek Nath Rizal was detained on sedition charges in 1993. Despite later release and pardon, he was deported from Bhutan. The government's despotic policy faced opposition in Bhutan and Nepal. To address Nepalese immigrants' concerns, Tek Nath Rizal formed the People's Forum for Human Rights. Dissatisfaction escalated, leading to strikes and demonstrations in 1990. Government crackdown ensued, with allegations of extortion and anti-Bhutan activities. Many Nepalese-origin Bhutanese were detained, schools turned into prisons, and widespread human rights violations occurred during prolonged incarcerations without trial (Piper, 1995).

Cultural Preservation and Identity Struggles

Despite the challenges, the Lhotshampa community has demonstrated resilience in preserving its cultural identity. Language, traditions, and religious practices continue to be significant aspects of their heritage. This paper investigates the efforts made by the Lhotshampas to maintain their cultural distinctiveness amidst external pressures and explores the role of cultural preservation in navigating the complexities of identity struggles. Bhutan's absence from international agreements, such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, and conventions on crime prevention and genocide, provided its government with unchecked authority (Pulkowski, 2014). The Bhutanese police, acting with impunity, arrested Nepali ethnic minorities without fair trials, legal representation, or due process. Reports detailed severe torture, preventive detentions, abductions, and sexual assaults on families, with many released under the condition of leaving Bhutan. The government's harsh measures persisted despite significant Nepali migration from Bhutan to Nepal. Driven by fears akin to the 1975 Sikkim incident, the Bhutanese government intensified control in 1990, requiring No Objection certificates for accessing government facilities in South Bhutan. Bhutan's isolation from international scrutiny allowed human rights violations, fostering an environment where the government aimed to swiftly resolve the issue of Nepalese refugees without external pressure (Phuntsho, 2015).

The mistreatment of Nepalese refugees by the Bhutanese government significantly impacted Nepal, leading to dissatisfaction among its citizens. The return of refugees strained resources in Nepal, prompting strong objections from the Nepalese government, which sought resolution through diplomatic channels. Nepal urged India, a close friend of Bhutan, to intervene,

but India deemed it an internal matter, avoiding interference to protect bilateral relations. Nonetheless, Nepal's persistent efforts led to bilateral talks in 1992 and a subsequent meeting in 1993 in Kathmandu. Despite initial progress, the dialogue faced challenges, and in 1994, both nations categorized the refugees into four groups. Bhutan agreed to repatriate only those forcibly evicted, declaring the others as illegal migrants. Subsequent bilateral meetings failed to yield positive results, and the slow process hindered conclusive resolutions. The potential for mediation by India remains unexplored, as it has yet to show interest in the matter. The ongoing impasse highlights the complexity of resolving the refugee crisis between Bhutan and Nepal (Gharti, 2011).

In 2008, the Maharaja of Bhutan instituted a constitutional monarchy through an amendment, addressing the refugee issue as more than one lakh Nepali immigrants had left Bhutan by that time, seeking refuge in Nepal. Post-amendment, the Bhutanese government, while not officially recognizing any religious or linguistic minority, ensured equal rights for all citizens. Although overt discrimination decreased, concerns persisted among the Lhotsampa ethnic group, particularly in areas such as performance appraisals, promotions, and business recruitment, where they felt a sense of nepotism and unequal treatment (Chandra, 2013).

To address these concerns, it is recommended to restart bilateral talks between Nepal and Bhutan, with India playing a mediating role. These dialogues should be unconditional, ensuring a fast and sincere agreement process. Additionally, a commission could be established to investigate discrimination against the Lhotsampas, providing a platform to address grievances and promote inclusivity. This comprehensive approach aims to foster understanding, trust, and equality, ultimately contributing to a resolution of the refugee problem and improved conditions for the Lhotsampa community (Raju, 2021).

Analyse of Ethnic Communities

Ethnic communities in Bhutan are diverse and contribute to the rich cultural tapestry of the country. The three main ethnic groups are the Ngalongs, the Sarchops, and the Lhotshampas, each with distinct characteristics and historical significance. Ngalongs and Sarchops: The Ngalongs and Sarchops are considered the indigenous inhabitants of Bhutan. The Ngalongs reside in the western part of the country, particularly in the regions around the capital Thimphu and Paro. The Sarchops, on the other hand, inhabit the eastern part of Bhutan. Both groups follow Buddhism, contributing to the country's identity as the Land of the Thunder Dragon (Pattanaik, 1998).

One notable difference between the two is their adherence to different sects of Mahayana Buddhism. The Sarchops follow the Nyingmapa sect, while the Ngalongs adhere to the Kagyupa sect. The Drukpa Kagyu sect, a major school of Mahayana Buddhism, is the official religion of Bhutan. Historically, the unification of Bhutan is attributed to Ngawang Namgyal, a Ngalong leader in the 17th century. Ngawang Namgyal defeated Tibetan invasions, consolidated the valleys of Bhutan into a single state, and established the Drukpa Kagyu sect as the dominant religious influence. The successive leaders of this sect, known as Zhabdrung Rinpoche, have played a crucial role as spiritual leaders in Bhutan (Choden, Wangchu & Smart, 2018).

Lhotshampas: The Lhotshampas, also known as Southern Bhutanese, have a different origin and history compared to the Ngalongs and Sarchops. They are ethnically Nepali and migrated to the southern parts of Bhutan, particularly in the districts of Samchi and Chirang, in the early 20th century. The influx of Lhotshampas was primarily driven by economic opportunities, including the demand for labor in Bhutan's developmental projects. The Lhotshampas, unlike the Ngalongs and Sarchops, practice Hinduism as their predominant religion. This difference in religion, language, and culture created a distinct identity for the Lhotshampas within the Bhutanese demographic landscape (Pulla & Woods, 2016).

However, despite their long history of residence in Bhutan, the Lhotshampas faced challenges to their integration. The Bhutanese government, especially in the later part of the 20th century, implemented policies and laws that sought to assimilate ethnic minorities into the mainstream Bhutanese culture. These assimilation efforts, often referred to as "Bhutanization," included language and dress codes, which became points of contention for the Lhotshampas.

The late 20th century witnessed a significant turning point for Bhutan and its ethnic communities, particularly the Lhotshampas. Bhutan's push for national identity and the enforcement of cultural norms led to the expulsion of a large number of Lhotshampas. The government's policies, such as the Citizenship Act of 1985 and the census of 1988, disenfranchised a considerable portion of the Lhotshampa population. The Lhotshampas, facing discrimination and denial of their rights, began to leave Bhutan. The refugee crisis emerged as tens of thousands sought asylum in Nepal. The Bhutanese government's refusal to recognize many Lhotshampas as citizens and the ensuing human rights abuses created an international concern (Dhungana, 2010).

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) became involved, establishing refugee camps in Nepal to provide shelter and assistance to those displaced. Despite international efforts and bilateral talks, a significant number of Lhotshampas remained in limbo, unable to return to Bhutan or fully integrate into Nepal. Post-2008 Changes: The political landscape of Bhutan underwent a significant transformation in 2008 when the country transitioned to a constitutional monarchy. The enactment of the Constitution of Bhutan and the establishment of a parliamentary democracy marked a new era. The Lhotshampas, as well as all citizens, were guaranteed equal rights before the law. Post-2008, overt discrimination against the Lhotshampas diminished, and they were granted access to rights and services on par with other Bhutanese citizens. The constitution provided a legal framework for equality, and Lhotshampas were seemingly no longer subjected to institutional discrimination (Loescher, Betts & Milner, 2008).

However, despite these positive changes, concerns linger among the Lhotshampas. Some civil servants report a lingering sense of insecurity, especially in performance appraisals and promotions. Allegations of favoritism based on ethnicity persist in certain sectors. Additionally, some Lhotshampas feel that opportunities for higher studies and jobs are not always accessible to them on an equal footing. Recommendations for Resolution to address the remaining challenges and ensure the full integration and equitable treatment of all ethnic communities, especially the Lhotshampas, several steps can be considered.

1. Bilateral Talks: Restarting bilateral talks between Nepal and Bhutan to find a resolution to the refugee crisis is crucial. These talks should be unconditional and guided by a sincere commitment to resolving the longstanding issue.

2. International Mediation: Given the historical reluctance of India to mediate, involving an international mediator or organization could provide a neutral platform for dialogue and resolution.

3. Non-Discriminatory Practices: Bhutan must continue to ensure that all citizens, regardless of ethnic background, are treated equally and have equal opportunities in all aspects of life, including employment and education.

4. Establishment of a Commission: The creation of an independent commission to investigate and address any lingering discrimination against Lhotshampas in various sectors could help build trust and transparency.

5. Awareness and Education: Efforts to promote awareness and education about Bhutan's diverse ethnic groups, fostering a sense of national unity while respecting cultural differences, can contribute to a more inclusive society.

Bhutan's ethnic communities play a vital role in shaping the country's identity. While progress has been made, challenges remain, particularly in ensuring the full integration and equitable treatment of all ethnic groups. Addressing these challenges requires a multi-faceted approach, including diplomatic efforts, non-discriminatory policies, and a commitment to fostering unity in diversity (Bahadur, 2020).

Conclusion

In the conclusion it can be concluded that the harsh and unyielding stance of the Bhutanese government, the repatriation of Nepalese refugees became an elusive prospect. The collective failure of Nepal, Bhutan, and India to resolve the issue, with India reluctant to mediate, left Nepalese refugees disillusioned and anxious. Frustrated by the lack of seriousness exhibited by their neighboring countries, many refugees took matters into their own hands, opting to seek refuge in various countries worldwide rather than wait for an uncertain resolution. A significant number resettled in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and several European nations, surpassing the Nepali refugee population remaining in Nepal. The bilateral efforts of the governments proved futile, prompting individuals to explore alternative paths. Presently, Nepali refugees continue to inhabit camps established by UN organizations and numerous NGOs, grappling with homelessness and the absence of basic human services (Hutt, 1996).

Bhutan's missed opportunity to handle the refugee crisis with foresight and prudence, instead of instilling fear of minority status, tarnished its relations with Nepal and set a negative precedent. This approach contrasts with a more positive response that could have influenced neighboring countries grappling with issues of majoritarian dominance and oppressive behavior towards ethnic minorities. A bilateral resolution to the refugee crisis could have served as a model, pressuring other nations to address minority ethnic concerns more seriously and fostering

regional peace and progress. According to the South Asia State of Minority Report 2019, the Bhutanese refugee population in Nepal has significantly diminished, with over 90% resettled in third countries, including Australia, Canada, Denmark, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

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POLITICS OF SLUMMING INDIAN CITIES: FROM SHAHJAHANABAD TO OLD DELHI

Dr. Shruti Dubey

Abstract

The paper analyses the case of Shahjahanabad to argue that the beautiful Mughal city built by Shahjahan in 17th century was gradually degenerated into a slum by the systematic policy and planning interventions of the British state. It contends that there is nothing natural about the negative significations such as overcrowded, congested, dirty, diseased, illegal, lacking infrastructure that are often associated with the older parts of the city of Delhi. This way of thinking about what came to be known as Old Delhi as contrasted with New Delhi was derived from the differential treatment of planning ideas borrowed from 19th century Europe and the discourse of pauperism prevalent over there. It argues that the provision of municipal facilities to areas inhabited exclusively by the British at the expense of areas inhabited by indigenous population was the main reason for the degeneration of Shahjahanabad. It further claims that a foundational violence was committed by municipal laws of British that were imposed on pre-colonial cities like Shahjahanabad which were organized on a different ethos. The spatial practices of the residents of Shahjahanabad were thus presumed to be aberrant and chaotic.

Key words: Slum, Shahjahanabad, colonial, governance, urban, planning.

Introduction

The old or medieval, precolonial, native urban forms of Indian cities like Delhi, Lucknow, Lahore, Hyderabad, Gujarat are often described as backward, congested, lacking infrastructure, dangerous, chaotic, unplanned and unhygienic in common parlance. These parts stand in stark contrast to the 'new' or colonial and postcolonial urban forms that are a result of planned interventions by the British or post-independence Indian state. These areas seem planned, orderly, having adequate infrastructure, hygienic, and legal[1]. From a distance it looks like a tale of two cities: a tale of 'white' town and 'black' town. There has been enough scholarship in urban studies challenging the binaries of planned and unplanned, formal and informal, legal and illegal in the case of Indian cities and arguing that the norm (about 75 %) in our cities is that of fuzzy and grey areas where the boundaries of these binaries get blurred (Bhan, 2013; Dupont, 2011; Roy, 2009; Dupont and Ramanathan, 2005). This paper is therefore not attempting to restate the argument made by the important scholarship mentioned above. The paper asks a historical question. When and how did medieval or precolonial urban forms in colonial India come to be signified with characteristics that one associates with slums of 19th century Europe? In other words, what were the factors responsible for the negative signification of indigenous urban forms? This way of describing old cities continued

in postcolonial independent India and therefore over a period of time has become naturalized. The paper argues that there is nothing natural about the way in which Indian old cities have been described more in terms of what they lacked rather than the roles and functions they played in urban life of colonial and postcolonial India. It was a result of colonial governance and systematic interventions by the British state in India. The paper will focus on the case of Shahjahanabad or 'Old Delhi' to illustrate this argument.

The plan of the paper is as follows. The first section demonstrates how the principles of hygiene, security and sanitation got introduced for governing cities in metropolitan countries of Europe in the 19th century and slums became an object of policy intervention. It initially meant segregation of spaces of habitation of the rich and that of the poor. However, by the second half of 19th century, it changed its form to large scale revamping of urban infrastructure for the poor. This meant building of public houses for the poor in which sewage and piped water supply was provided by the municipalities. The second section argues that though the European principles of governance travelled to the colonies they were applied over there in a differential manner. To prove the argument of difference the paper draws from existing historiography (Chandavarkar, 1998; Gooptu, 1996, 2014; Sharan, 2006; Kishor, 2015; Gandhi, 2011; Legg, 2007; Mann, 2005, 2007; Sundaram, 2009; Gupta, 1981; Oldenberg, 1984, Hosagrahar, 1999, 2005) on Indian cities during colonial times specially focusing on Delhi. It argues that categories such as congestion, nuisance, lack of infrastructure were introduced by imposition of municipal laws by the British to comprehend Indian cities. Shahjahanabad was thus understood as lacking all the amenities that a modern city should have. The policies and plans of the British only contributed to further worsening of the situation, thereby reinforcing the categories imposed by them. The third section argues that imposition of categories of European planning did more harm than good in the colonies because the original context of the colonies was different. Ancient and medieval Indian cities had a different ethos of organizing space. There was no strict division of public and private. Thus, most of the existing spatial practices in Shahjahanabad was viewed as aberrations by the British, turning it into a slum in modern planning discourse.

Section One: 'Slums' as an object of intervention: Origin of urban planning in 19th century Britain

The roots of colonial planning interventions in India can be traced to developments happening in urban governance in 19th century Britain and in western Europe at large. Industrialization had brought a large number of rural migrants to cities like Manchester, Liverpool and London to work in factories (Poovey, 1995; Dean, 1991). The working class often lived in insalubrious environments in areas which were dark, dingy, overcrowded, dirty, polluted with sewage flowing in open drains and cesspools all around. The dark side of modernity with unfulfilled promises of prosperity for everyone could be seen starkly in the quarters of the poor. The descriptions of such spaces can be found in literary writings of Charles Dickens and Victor Hugo and works like the condition of English Working Classes by Frederick Engels (1993). Michel Foucault (1980) has demonstrated how the state assumed a governmental role by exercising biopower in 18th and 19th century Europe. In other words, the vital biological

processes such as birth, death, longevity became matters of concern for the state and it collected information about these in order to bring about policy intervention. The poor and their spaces thus became objects of policy intervention. These interventions gave rise to two discourses: poverty and pauperism (Procacci, 1994). It was argued that poverty was to some extent unavoidable and it performed a crucial function of keeping enterprise alive in the poor. The 'hard working' and 'enterprising' poor could always be provided work by the state and the problem of poverty could be solved. The real problem was that of pauperism which referred to the 'bad habits' of the poor that propelled them towards laziness, not wanting to work and earn a living, being a burden on the state, being immoral and having no interest to save for the future (Procacci, 1994). Often the line between the two discourses blurred and working poor living in slums were blamed for their bad habits for living in such congested spaces. Overcrowded spaces were in turn seen as hotbeds of dirt, disease and criminality and encouraged pauperism.

These spaces inhabited by the poor or 'slums' became the object of governmental intervention through the discourses of public health, hygiene and urban planning. A number of medical inquiries were conducted by doctors to study the causes of epidemics and pathologies. Since cities attracted a large number of poor migrants who lived in dense settlements in proximity with the middle and upper classes, the surveillance and control of urban spaces became an area of medical intervention. This surveillance was important because they posed a threat to the health and safety of the middle and upper classes. Public health could be undermined by primarily two sources of pollution: air and water. The theory of miasma prevalent at that time argued that the dirt and refuse of congested areas rose in the form of vapours and polluted nearby areas. The only way out was to decongest spaces, limiting the number of people living in a house and allowing sufficient sunlight to enter them (Corbin, 1986). Water pollution could be prevented by provision of piped water supply and underground sewage system. The advances made in chemical and civil engineering provided the necessary knowledge to prevent untreated sewage being thrown in open drains (Chaplin, 1999). Slums could spread diseases to habitations of the rich and they were also places where labour discontent could simmer and lead to a revolt by workers. The first reactions to deteriorated living conditions was the flight by the well-off classes to the suburbs leading to residential segregation which led to inactivity by administration to improve the situation of the poor.

The conditions of slums in England improved only when sanitary reform could be carried out in the second half of 19th century due to three political factors (Chaplin, 1999). The work of sanitary reformers like Edwin Chadwick who in his famous Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain argued that the insanitary conditions were responsible for the deteriorating morality of the poor rather than some defect in their character. Thus, environmental improvement of slums was advocated as a necessity for society. 2) Increase in the power of local government and technological and civil engineering advancement that made sure that most parts of London had covered sewers. Piped sewage and water supply became a public concern rather than a private good. 3) The need to counter 'threats from below' that came both in terms of spread of diseases such as cholera and the risk of potential revolt by organized trade unions. This was the beginning of welfare state and inclusion of working class in Britain.

The 19th century metropolitan discourse on urban planning and hygiene travelled to colonies like India but was applied over here with a 'difference'. How did it impact the medieval Indian city of Shahjahanabad. How did the city gradually get converted into a slum? How did the city become old? These are some of the questions that will be addressed in the next section.

Section 2

From Shahjahanabad to 'Old' Delhi: The construction of medieval city as 'slum'

This section looks at the way in which living conditions in Shahjahanabad were slowly converted into slum like by the policies of the British. It demonstrates how the discourse of pauperism prevalent in metropolitan England was used to describe the habits of the native population in India including their spatial practices manifested in old cities. Slowly the descriptions used for slums were imposed on Shahjahanabad. Old cities were slowly described in terms of lack of infrastructure for a healthy and prosperous city life. The argument is further elaborated in the following sub-sections.

2a The reconstruction of Shahjahanabad on the principles of segregation: Signification of medieval city as a dense, dangerous space of revolt

Shahjahanabad was built in 17th century by emperor Shahjahan when he decided to shift the capital of Mughal empire from Agra to Delhi. Like other medieval cities of the time from Paris to Damascus it was densely inhabited and was fortified by walls to protect it against invaders. Despite being dense, slums as we know today did not exist in Shahjahanabad or what is now known as 'Old Delhi'. It was considered a healthy and moderately populated city with an oriental charm (Mann, 2007). In fact, it was one of the rare cities in which the British, who had come to Delhi in 1803, lived together with the native population in a mixed fashion (Gupta 1981, Mann 2007). This changed considerably with the revolt of 1857, after which the British reconstructed Indian cities mainly on the principles of safety and sanitation. The interventions undertaken by the British rulers in Delhi after 1857 remind one of similar methods that they adopted for the working-class areas in the metropolis. The risk of insurgency becomes more imminent in the situation of colonial subjection and the revolt of 1857 was a clear sign of the disgruntlement of the native population. That is why after the revolt of 1857 the colonial rulers started implementing town planning principles in Delhi primarily to protect the health and safety of British officials and soldiers who were stationed over there. They began this process by separating the areas of habitation of the British population from what they mark as areas inhabited by the 'natives'. From mid-19th century, the locus of urbanization shifted from medieval cities like Shahjahanabad to areas such as Civil lines and Cantonments.

These were constructed by the British primarily for themselves and for their native allies who were ready to emulate the culture of the rulers and pledge their loyalties to them. These new areas were designed on a grid pattern with broad roads intersecting at right angles instead of narrow winding alleys of the old city. Grid pattern was one of the classic features of modernist design which fostered predictability, facilitated free movement of military and was best for policing and governance. The neat grid pattern was then contrasted with the confusing dense pattern of narrow alleys of *galis*[2], *kuchas*, and *mohallas*[3]. We argue that

the 'medieval cities' like Shahjahanabad of the colony could be compared with the 'slums' of England, becoming the 'other' of the planned areas which were inhabited by the British. This was the beginning of signifying the them as a space of social, political and sanitary disorder and arguing that the only way of protecting the British was by segregation and maintaining physical separation.

Civil Lines was separated from Shahjahanabad by the cordon sanitaire of Qudsia and Nicholsan Gardens and was close to the Ridge. The Cantonment was located within the walled city around the Red Fort from which the military was to take control of the city. Various dense bazaars and residential areas close to the Red Fort were cleared in a Hausmannian[4] fashion after the revolt to make way for broader streets where the military could parade freely (Gupta, 1981). Delhi was 'pacified' by being subjected to large scale reconstruction in order to punish those who took part in the rebellion, reward the supporters of the British and establish better control of the military to quell potential revolts in the future. To this effect, one-third of the landscape of Delhi was destroyed in the period from 1857 to 1887 in which the British took control over the nazul lands that were under the Mughal Emperor (Legg, 2007). A number of people, mostly Muslims who participated in the revolt and were of dubious loyalty to the Raj, were thrown out of the city beyond the walls. Thus, the dense parts of the indigenous city with narrow long winding streets started being signified by the British as potentially dangerous places which can give rise to revolt.

2b Reconstruction of Shahjahanabad on principles of hygiene and sanitation: Signification as congested, dirty and diseased

The areas of habitation of the British population and the natives were separated by not just a spatial but also a sanitary distance. The dominant discourse of hygiene and sanitation from the 18th century Europe was based on the miasma theory of dirt which explained the spreading of disease as a result of the corruption of air due to vapours coming out of decaying vegetation, corpse, carcasses, thick foliage, cramped and ill ventilated houses. It was believed that disease causing bacteria could be transmitted through air and hence epidemics were thought to occur due to overcrowding. Thus, there was a focus on the removal of pathogenic substances such as corpses, drainage of swamps to outside the city in the 19th century (Sharan, 2006). A number of positive measures such as supply of fresh water and laying down of sewerage lines along with removal of excreta and refuse were added to the discourse. Adequate ventilation, sunlight, supply of fresh water, provision of sewage as well as drainage and refuse removal were considered as essential requirements for healthy cities. We observe that the medieval city of Shahjahanbad started to be characterized as precisely lacking these facilities and getting marked as dirty, filthy and diseased. Additionally, a new norm of ideal housing keeping in mind the miasmatic theory of spreading of diseases also came into place. This was marked by functional separation of spaces inside the house i.e. allocation of separate space for activities such as cooking, sleeping, living and bathing. Similarly, criteria were evolved for the adequate number of houses that should be built in a particular area and appropriate number of people living in them in order to avoid 'congestion' and 'overcrowding'. The existing houses, despite having a different planning ethos, were evaluated according to these norms.

2c. Financial discrimination by municipalities in colonies: Signification as lacking infrastructure

The first sanitary report of the Punjab province in 1867 acknowledged that Delhi was the cleanest city of the province (Mann 2007). The removal of refuse and excreta was regularly done by the sweepers of the *mohallas* who were ordered by the DMC to complete this task by noon or be prepared to pay a fine. But the report recognized the fact that there were cesspits that could pollute the water and breed diseases. The condition of public health was proposed to be improved by provision of adequate water supply and covered sewers constructed on the English model (ibid).

Whereas metropolitan municipalities were granted financial powers to implement large scale infrastructural changes same was not the case in colonies. There are a number of instances in which projects of piped water supply and sewage systems in Shahjahanabad were not granted finances by the provincial and imperial governments (Kishor, 2015). This was because the Delhi Municipal Committee that was created in 1863 exhibited a bias towards directing its resources to providing infrastructure in British areas such as Civil Lines and Cantonments and later on in the new capital inaugurated in 1911 known as 'New' Delhi, at the expense of the 'older' parts of the town (Mann, 2007).

The order in which water supply had to be provided overtly prioritized the British areas such as Cantonments in the intramural city, Civil Lines and British quarters that were supposed to receive water separately from the Ali Mardan Canal (Mann, 2007). The cost of extending water supply systems was considered very high in the walled city where the water was supposed to be taken by the natives from public stand posts and neighbourhood taps. Suburbs such as Sabzimandi and Paharganj were excluded from the water supply system due to the expenses involved. The asymmetry in the treatment of the British and the native population was evident by the fact that even in the case of acute water shortage and resource constraint to provide basic sanitary infrastructure to the native population, maintaining parks such as Roshanara Gardens or watering King Edward Memorial Garden was not compromised (ibid).

The principal of segregation continued in the construction of the capital of New Delhi. During its construction it was possible to "rebuild and reorganize the water supply, sewerage and conservancy of the whole area" (Mann, 2007, p.27). The European architects, bureaucrats and planners, however, planned "a completely segregated city, reducing Delhi and its surroundings to a picturesque background (ibid, p.28)." Municipal work was only concerned with the maintenance of New Delhi and not the modernization of what was now called Old Delhi. The municipal water supply system was reorganized to benefit New Delhi at the cost of Old Delhi. Similarly, instead of having a waterborne sewerage system for the entire municipal area, a modern system was created only for the new capital.

2d. Use of cheaper technology for Shahjahanabad

Another related instance of financial discrimination was choosing cheaper technologies for medieval cities such as Shahjahanabad. The task of construction and repair of drains went on at a very low pace till the 1890s in native Delhi. The influential residents such as jewelers

periodically registered their discontent with the DMC by bringing forth its failure to deal with open drains and epidemics (Legg, 2007). In 1871 the Urdu newspaper Akbar charged the DMC of failing to clean canals, gutters or provide drinking water in the city (ibid). While European technology was declared to be superior than any existing Indian technology, arguments ranging from different climatic conditions, cultural habits, unavailability of water and financial stringency were made for allowing cheaper technologies to be implemented in native parts of the town. Instead of underground piped drains that was the norm in British experts argued that open drain was better for Shahjahanabad (Kishor, 2015). One of the main reasons behind this was that the maintenance of underground drain was a much more expensive enterprise as compared to maintenance of open drains. The drains and outlets lead to the ditches in Kashmiri Gate, Mori Gate, Lahori Gate, Ajmeri Gate on the outskirts of the city (Mann, 2007: 20). These ditches were also used as urban dumping grounds. Thus the city seemed to be enclosed in drains and ditches, living in proximity with its refuse, giving a semblance of a large slum. Even though there was no improvement of drains and sewerage system in the dense *mohallas* of Delhi, the DMC kept on building drains at huge expenses in the British quarters and the Civil Lines area. The extent to which the British associated the metaphor of disease with the 'natives' was highlighted by their insistence to construct a separate sewerage system for Civil Lines outside the walls of the city in order to avoid any possibility of the mixing of their excreta.

2e Policing the sweeper: Shahjahanabad as a source of nuisance

Ironically, even though the reason for implementation of cheaper technologies and lack of infrastructure was financial it was blamed on the cultural habits of the natives. The discourse of pauperism that was prevalent in Britain came out handy in dealing with the natives and their indigenous cities. The bad habits of the natives who were used to open defecation and not using public toilets were blamed for congested, filthy and overcrowded cities. The trope of 'bad habits' also justified directing 50-60 per cent of municipal finance to policing the nuisance caused by the natives. The category of nuisance was expanded enormously in the colonial context (Sharan, 2006; Kishor, 2015).

In order to handle the 'menace' of open defecation by the natives, the British tried to introduce, in a half-hearted manner the system of public latrines that were to be constructed at suitable places in cantonments and then to be extended to the rest of the town (Mann, 2007). In fact, regulation of habits of urination and defecation of the poor natives was portrayed as part of the grand civilization mission of the British. Public latrines were, however, unpopular among urban inhabitants because of deficits in construction. They were too narrow and dirty for women, located on the outskirts of the settlements and were inadequate in numbers. People continued to defecate outside in public places. This 'nuisance' was to be managed by better policing by the municipalities. Western sanitary technology of water closets was introduced in New Delhi in 1915 only after the shifting of capital was announced (ibid).

Due to the reluctance of investment in the mechanization and improvement of sanitary infrastructure, the municipality heavily relied on manual cleaning by the sweepers to clean the mohallas of natives (Parshad, 1999). According to Michael Mann (2007)

"Whereas in Europe sanitation technology was used as a means of social control to get rid of rebellious city sweepers, in India policing the urban sweeper was seen as a means of civilizing the uncivilized. Established as a separate professional group, mostly paid by the municipality and disciplined by municipal regulations, dressed in uniforms and equipped with brooms, sweepers also became a symbol of backward India not fit for 'modern' technology (p.28)."

Mann has convincingly argued that through neglect and underdevelopment Delhi was made Old. Unlike the West in which cities represented modernity and progress, in the east they stood for backwardness and incapability to progress. Delhi became the metaphor for the Oriental 'Other'. Seen from a distance Delhi was a picturesque Indian town with domes, minarets, tombs. But from closer it represented "unhealthy Indian cities populated by unclean inhabitants, indicated by 'misused' ditch, refuse and excreta on the roads and stagnant water in open drains in overcrowded wards (Mann, 2007: 28)." This portrayal was extremely important according to Mann in order to emphasize the importance of British rule for Indians for their civic enhancement. The well planned, monumental, new capital was constructed precisely in contrast to this image of Old Delhi.

Section 3

Introduction of an alien ethos in medieval cities: Foundational violence of the municipal vision

This section will demonstrate how the municipal vision that was imposed by the British that was differentially applied in the Indian context was actually alien to the practices of the people. The municipal law of planning that was imposed classified the existing spatial practices as illegal and led to a foundational violence that got hidden as it was replicated in the postcolonial period as well. It is this law that led to the descriptions of Shahjahanabad like a slum. A few important features to be noted about urban policies in Delhi after the creation of municipality are as follows. Firstly, the municipal vision of orderly development in Delhi was drawn from the British context and did not match the existing spatial practices of the residents that imbibed an order of its own. The municipal committee was formed to look after the civic monuments, urban infrastructure and govern the city by means of regulations such as the building bye laws (Legg, 2007). This led to interference in what were till then local decisions about the usage of space (Hosagrahar, 2005). The imposition of municipal law immediately characterized the customary norms governing the spatial practices of the indigenous city as 'illegal' and 'deviant' (Hosagrahar, 1999). It was their practices of building and living that became the constitutive outside with reference to which the residences of the British were planned. The lifestyle of the native population was not recognized as merely different from the norms that were being followed in the West but as aberrant and chaotic. The municipal laws also intended to establish Western notions of private property in space (Hosagrahar, 2005). From hereafter, it was established that the natives needed to be ordered and disciplined by the British for their own good. This way of conceptualizing the indigenous population brings out the universalizing tendencies of the European law,

That which stood outside of the absolutely universal could only be absolutely different to it. It could only be an aberration or something other than that which it should be. Rather than a multiplicity of legal possibilities, difference was positioned relative to the West. European legal identity entails the mapping of the colonial subject as purely negative, from which the positivity of Western law is derived (Blomley, 2003, p.124).

Blomley's analysis can be extended to understand not just colonial subjects but also their spaces.

Secondly, whereas the DMC functioned to control the 'illegal' behaviour of the native residents, they did not provide adequate sanitation facilities to them because their limited finances were directed to the provision of these services in the residence of the British military and civilian officials. In fact, as we have already seen, often an argument about cultural difference and habits were made to prove the inadequacy of the native subject to use modern sanitary infrastructure. It is important to highlight the double-edged nature of classifying the natives as savages or those in need of civilization. While it renders their lifestyles as deviant, the racial inferiority of the savage was also used as an argument for never giving them the same facilities as the British. Therefore, 50% of the budget of the municipality went into policing activities (Mann, 2007). The native areas were to be controlled by confinement and policing and the Western planning infrastructure were to be applied in the main to the British areas.

Even though the British portrayed the city as decrepit and slum like, it was also developing like a vibrant commercial town that attracted migrants from a number of areas. The population of Delhi within the walls as well as in the suburbs such as Paharganj and Sabzimandi had been increasing even before the shifting of capital in 1911 due to a number of reasons (Gupta, 1981). These included distress migration from far off places like Rajasthan due to famines of 1861, 1867, 1877, 1898, influx of petty traders and entrepreneurs in search of new opportunities in trade and commerce and the labourers who came to the town to construct the railway lines as well as the large extent of building activity that ensued in the city. Delhi became the seventh largest town in British India by 1891, a thriving commercial centre with the largest railway junction by the end of 19th century (Mann, 2007). The construction of New Delhi as the capital of the Empire in 1911 brought in a large number of labourers as well as menial workers who were accommodated in the walled city and its already overcrowded Western suburbs. It was the absorption of the large population that flocked to Delhi is search of work that contributed to the dense development of the city and burdened its already weak sanitary infrastructure.

In order to accommodate the vast migrant population that was entering the city, the municipal regulations were regularly flouted by the local people by various practices which had now become 'illegal'. These 'deviant' spatial practices consisted of building additional rooms, constructing buildings without permission, defending these additions and buildings in courts and renting public space illegally (Hosagrahar, 2005). The common people in the walled city expressed their resistance to the municipal bye laws in various ways. Jyoti Hosagrahar (1999) argues, "the unruliness building in the old city…can be seen as a response to the

displacement brought about by sudden growth and transformed social order. In their disobedience, residents protested interventions into their living environments by a government that did not reflect their customs or their voices (p.46)". From this perspective, growth in the old city was not haphazard, but preceded according to a different set of rules, as property owners acted in an entrepreneurial, not an irresponsible manner.

The decline of Shahjahanabad could also be seen from the way in which grand establishments of elite 'havelis' suffered dilapidation after mid19[th] century. Havelis or big mansions and courtyard houses were converted into overcrowded tenement houses in which multiple families lived, warehouses and specialty markets (Hosagrahar, 1999). These havelis were more like neighborhoods. They comprised of walled areas with several structures and courtyards in and around them which housed not just members of the family of the head or *amir* but also provided accommodation to a larger community of professionals, soldiers, artisans and servants. All the people under the patronage of *amir* from accountants to merchants, moneylenders, traders, musicians, physicians to labourers, tent-pitchers, torch bearers, blacksmiths, lived in and around these mansions which were more like mohalla or neighborhood. Animals and storage facilities were also a part of the haveli complex. Post 1857 the haveli got fragmented into two parts 1) smaller units which were brought by those elites who couldn't leave old city to reside in bungalows of civil lines. 2) small tenements for the poor migrants who were entering the city in large numbers. It was these tenements that absorbed the poor migrant population that were essential for building and serving New Delhi that had no room for housing them.

Conclusion

The paper has attempted to demonstrate the politics behind naturalizing the negative significations associated with precolonial medieval cities in India by the British through the case of Shahjahanabad or 'Old' Delhi. Delhi kept on becoming old due to the policies and plans of British that systematically discriminated against the areas inhabited by the natives. The labour that got attracted to Delhi due to several reasons, not the least of which was construction of the new imperial capital, got absorbed in Shahjahanabad and its extensions. There was no room for them in the well-planned areas of New Delhi that were designed on the grid pattern. This in turn increased the strain on Delhi, further making it old. Old Delhi as contrasted with New Delhi, therefore, became described as congested, insanitary, dirty, lacking modern infrastructure, almost like a slum. Ironically, this understanding was carried on without much modification by postcolonial governing elite in India. The first master plan of Delhi inaugurated in 1962 classified whole of Old Delhi as a slum area. The implication of this process is manifold. Firstly, it has led to not just a loss but of criminalizing a way of life and planning and organizing space which was more amenable to Indian culture. Secondly, it advocated the creation of a segregated or unequal city in which islands of privilege in the form of grid patterned planned areas were inhabited by the middle and upper classes. Thirdly, it confined an understanding of old cities in terms of lack and hid the myriad important functions that old cities performed in sustaining urban life of both older and newer parts of the cities. Fourthly, while rejuvenation of old cities has become a crucial concern of the Indian state

visible in the form of heritage conservation, the approach that the state is taking is derived more from modern urban planning imposed by the British that viewed the native practices as aberrations. Such an approach may not be able to do justice to the true heritage of cities like Shahjahanabad that were designed on ideas emanating from the needs of the time.

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Footnotes

1   Here I am excluding urban forms that developed due to private initiative without the systematic intervention of planners like urban villages, slums, unauthorized colonies, resettlement colonies that also intensified in the post-independence period and confining myself to strictly planned colonies and areas constructed by British state or state organs such as development authorities in the postcolonial period in India.

2   *Gali* and *Kucha* are Hindi-Urdu terms for narrow lanes and alleys.

3   Mohalla is the Urdu term for neighborhood.

4   Georges Eugene Haussmann, commonly known as Baron Haussmann was commissioned by Emperor Napoleon III to carry on a massive program of public works consisting of renovation of Paris. His operations included clearing of dense slums in the middle of Paris to bring in wide streets and tree lined boulevards beautifying the city center. These slums were specially targeted because they were an important site from which the revolt of 1832 and 1848 emerged. The broad roads were made so as to allow free movement of the military in times of revolts.

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SAIVITE MONUMENT AT BAIDYANATH: A STUDY OF ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Dr. Arpita Behera

Abstract

Baidyanath is a small village picturesquely situated on the bank of the river Tel and is only 5 K.M. south west of Hardusol chhowk, the nearest bus stand on Sonepur-Bolangir road and 16 KMs away from Sonepur Town. The modern town Sonepur was known as Suvarnapur in the 9th century A.D. When it served as the capital of South Kosal of Somavansis kings, they were advancing from the upper Mahandi valley (Sirpur) to the coastal region. Several copperplate characters were issued by Somavansis kings from Suvarnapur situated at the confluence of Tel and Mahanadi[1]. The place Baidyanath bears much strategic importance. This is a place of pilgrimage and famous for the temple of antiquarian value. The temple is named after the presiding deity Kosalesvara and is situated at the end of the village. The Kosalesvara Siva temple is in a bad state of preservation.

Key words: valley, picturesquely, copperplate, Somavansis.

Architecture

The temple consists of a *vimana* and *jagamohana*, which are square in plan . The original sanctum where the *Lingam* had been previously installed is now no more. Today the *mukhasala* remains bear testimony of the beauty of the monuments. The earliest *deula* and the *antarala* have disappeared. B.C. Majumdar, C.L. Fabri and Vidya Dehejia have described it as the specimen of a unique regional style. P. Acharya has considered it as the finest example of an advanced sculptural design.[2] The present temple which contains the *Lingam* and it is of a *pidha* or *Bhadra* type and appears to be a modern one. The foundation of the original sanctum is still visible around the present shrine. Now nothing remains of *vimana* of old temple are found but its *jagamohana* is still standing in precarious condition. The *jagamohana* is a rare gallery of medieval Odishan art, now it is renovated by the Odisha State Archaeology and Culture Department, Govt. of Odisha. What type of *gandi* it had originally is difficult to ascertain as it is completely destroyed. Even the earliest photographs are supplied by B.C. Majumdar fails to convey any idea of its *gandi*. Generalizing the architectural style of the temples of the variety in Western Odisha, According to P.K. Nayak that the present *jagamohana* might have contained alike that of Somesvara temple of Ranipur Jharial and the sanctum might have been a *rekha* type temple as found in Charda.[3]

In the Koselesvar temple of Baidyanth, there is a small space between the *vimana* and *jagamohana* indicates to the prevalence of an *antaral*. The original sanctum had an entrance through the *vimana* on the eastern side. The *jagamohana* is built mostly of stone but has brick filling in interior which itself is an unusual feature not found in the standard Odishan temple.[4] In plan it is square with projecting raised arches on two sides of platform in

the centre of the hall are four tall pillars rising out of a *purnaghat*. These pillars have supported the *jagamohana* roof. The stone used in the construction of *jagamohana* are very heavy and cut smooth. They are placed one above the other without any binding mortar. The bricks used in the filling are comparatively larger and harder.

The portion of *mukhasala* which survives now is a peristylar hat with twelve pillars. A 15 ft. square platform *vedika* with four pillars, on each corner lies there. The *mandapa* has a stone door way at the entrance and elaborately on a mated door frame to the west i.e, to the sanctum. The door frame on the eastern entrance possesses three bands of scroll works. The lintel of the architrave contains a figure of Gajalaxmi. Here Laxmi is shown seated in *lalitasana* with the right leg hanging down the pedestal and the left by rests on the pedestal. The inner course of the frame has lotus rosette and filigree works. The architrave has one male figure after one female. The entrance gate to the west also is lavishly carved. The *Dvarapalas* are found at the base of the door frame in both sides accompanied by the river goddesses Ganga and Yamuna. The *Dvarapala* are 40 inches in height and river goddesses measure 42 inches. It is a rare feature of odishan temples where large size *Dvarapalas* are attended by river goddesses of about equal size.[5] There are also placed on the projecting jambs and not on the inside jamb. On the lintel of the inner frame is found a *Navagraha* slab. The broad beam above the inner frame is depicted with a line image of Anantasayi Vishnu.

The twelve engaged pillars are plain. But the four pillars in the centre are ornamented (ornate). The pillars at the base are undecorated and square in shape. They rise from a *ghata pallava* pedestal. The upper portion of the pillars is octagonal and carved with standing lions alternating with *kirtimukhas* dripping pearls from their mouth above the design two more course of floral work are found. They are *dhanu ganthi* and *mali phula phadika* scroll work. It is surmounted by *alamba* motif with *kirtimukha* on the eight facets above which is the bracket capital having a larger *alamba* device at the base. Linga is worshiped inside the sanctum behind the Linga the back wall contain row of detached sculptures, which were fixed on it when this new sanctum was built in. The row includes the figures of Uma-Maheswar, Ganesha, and Kartikeya.

The small space between the two structures indicates the presence of an *antarala* (vestibule) before the entrance to the *vimana* (cella). The temple also faces towards the east as in the case of all *Deva* temples. The architectural style of the temple is very massive. Heavy stones have been used in the construction of the structure .The stones are dressed one after another without mortar. Small iron beams and hinges have been employed here. In some places of *jagamohana*, bricks also have been used. The bricks are very large and hard, suggest any early date. The upper part of the inside wall of the *jagamohana* contains sculptures carved out of bricks. The celling was supported by four sculptured pillars inside. The peculiar feature of the *jagamohana* is the porch like projection on both sides of the wall. It is an oblong verandah raised like a pedestal covered with a flat roof supported by two small pillars. The outside of the verandah has a railing like structure which looks like a balcony. These two types of balcony on both make the hall by permeating light and air from outside. The *jagamohana*, unlike the temple of Gandharadi does not stand on a raised platform, but the

structure rises from the ground. It is now bereft of the roof and only the *bada* portion or the vertical cube is now in surveyable condition. The *jagamohana* has *panchangabada* i.e. the cube has been divided horizontally into five parts, namely *Pabhaga*, lower *jangha*, *bandhana*, upper *jangha* and *baranda*. The *pabhaga* contains four *mouldings- khura, patta, kani, basanta*[6.]. The basement of the *pabhaga* is decorated with small and plain *chaitya* motifs. Both lower and upper *janghas* are plain. Only two pilasters of brick are seen raised upwards starting from the beginning of the *tala- jangha* to the ending of the upper *jangha*, being encircled by a curling snake of which the hood is not prominent. It may be taken as a variation of the *Naga* pillar. In the *Pabhaga* portion, between the second and third mouldings, there are small *chaitya* motifs. *Bandhana* consists of plain moulding that divides the *jangha* into upper and lower parts. The *baranda* which demarcates the *gandi* from the bada contain three plain mouldings. Then onwards the roof of the gandi has no shape of which can now be traced. Another peculiarity of this temple, the outer surface of the *jagamohana* is less sculptured whereas the inner side of the wall is sculptured with a beautiful life size figure. In front of the *jagamohana* there is a small recently made porch, which is known as *Bhrusava madapa*, where a *Nandi* of black chlorite stone has been kept. *Aruna stambha* and *Sankirtana mandapa* are found in temple premises that are recently built.

Sculpture

While entering the premises of the temple one can see the Gajalaxmi image on the lintel of the eastern gateway. The stone pillars, which support the lintel, now look plain. The representation of Gajalaxmi is found in many Siva temples and Vishnu temples of Western Odisha as well as Eastern Odisha. From a study of symbols of royal Somavmsis seals, B.C Majumdar believes that *Matangi* and *Mahalaxmi* were the household and goddesses of Kosala Guptas (Somsvamsis).[7] This goddess was introduced by Sarabhapuriya kings for the first time in South Kosala. Later on the representation of goddess Gajalaxmi was continued by the Somavamsis monarchs in their seals and structure. The depiction of Gajalaxmi in the lintel of the entrance became popular and was adopted by other royal dynasties.

In the lintel, the goddess Gajalaxmi is sitting on a lotus pedestal. With her right leg hanging down and left being placed on the pedestal touching the right thigh. In the left hand, she is holding a full blown lotus and is attended by two attendants from both sides. Two outflanking elephant (one on each side) are shown above her head raising their proboscis upward and pudding water on her head. In the promises of the temple, some images are lying uncared. Among them, there is a broken image of a lady the lower portion of whose body is destroyed and upper portion up to the waist is intact. She is standing in a *bhanga* pose. Only one hand of it is intact which rests on the waist. A beaded garland is visible around her neck. She may be identified as Kumari or Mohini. An *Ardhanarisvara murti*, which was previously inside the temple and now laying on the premises, has been very much damaged. There is no doubt that was once a fine piece of sculpture. But due to the ravages of nature and the carelessness of the visitors, the glaze and the charm of the figure is gone now. The image is four-handed out of which three hand are broken the only remaining hand is holding a *khatvanga*. In the female part, jewelled ornaments, lady garments, elaborate ear ornaments, female lead

dress, decorated girdle and a prominent breast have been showing while the male part contains a *sarpa kundala* in ear, *jatamukh*a on head, *sarpa valaya* (armlet), a sacred thread passing through the chest and the rest is plain. A Nataraja figure, which is now broken into pieces, is kept in a slanting position of the side of the boundary wall. It has ten arms out of which four arms are lost. Two pairs are intact. The upper most pair holds a snake over his head. The next pair of hands (from the top) hold *dumbaru* and a *japamala,* respectively the third left hand carries fire and a lower left hand holds a *naga* with raised hood portion contains a standing bull behind the image. On both sides are seen attendants. One female is sitting on the right and the other male is standing on the left. Another small figure is shown attached near the knee of the image. Some other stray images are also found there. Among them a large size recumbent bull carved out of rough stone, a *linga* containing a small sitting figure in it (*Mukhalingam*) within a square *saktipitha* and a two-armed is standing images holding a *parasu* and an indistinct object are found.

The outer side of *jagamohana* is devoid of sculpture except on the upper rights of the railing of the balconies. Some beautiful sculptures, which exhibit various aspects of the social life of the tribal people are found there. There are also found the cult image of Ganesh, Garuda etc. Besides there in the Southern balcony, a fighting scene of a divine figure with an animal is carved upright. The animal is standing on its hind legs and jumping towards the man. The front legs of the animal are on the thigh of the man. Another divine figure is seen fighting with a bull in a separate upright. Many in the distinct figure can be traced in the body of the upright of balcony. These figures have been identified with Krishna killing the demon Kesi and Vrasa.

In the northern balcony, there are some important scenes carved in the uprights of the railing. Here is depicted the domestic life of the tribal people. A man wearing a lion cloth on his waist portion is seen standing holding a bow and an arrow in the left and right hand respectively. A dog is seen accompanying the man. This is a hunting scene of a tribal man. A female figure with a waistcloth is shown here holding in the left hand a typical tribal winnowing fan. A child stands on the right side of the female. Among others a male figure is sitting with his legs out-stretched to form a lap to make his child sit comfortable. Two female figures are seen on the sides of the male figure. It also undoubtedly represents a scene of the day to day life of a rural family. These three sculptures depict the domestic life of a rural folk of Western Odisha in realistic manner. These types of representation are not found in any temple of coastal Odisha.[8] C.Febri, K.C. Panigrahi, V. Dehejia, T.E. Donaldson and N.K. sahu[9] have overlooked this group of sculptures to the left of the outer sides of the balcony there is figure of an erotic couple. Both are sitting naked locked in the act of love. This looks crude now. This was one of the fine specimens of temple art.

Inside of *Mukhasala* there are some rare specimens of Medieval Odishan art, which remind of our glorious heritage of classical art. Just to the left of the entrance of *jagamohana* a two-armed image of Kartikeya is found attached to the wall. The figure is shown seated on a peacock with a spear in his hand. According to Charles Fabri, it is unusual representation of the hairstyle i.e., "wig" style of hairdressing. Generally Kartikeya as a *Parsvadebata* is found attached in every Siva temple in the outer surface of a sidewall. But he is shown here

on the left side of the entrance gate. Among the ornaments, he is found wearing a necklace, a decorated bracelet on his wrist. Charles Fabri however has given much emphasis on the hairstyle of the figure and opinion that the hair has been dressed in the "wig" style. Which is a typical fashion of 6th century A.D.[10] But the temples can not be dated back to 6th century A.D. as it is not corroborated by other evidences. In the front of Kartikeya image, a large Ganesha image is seen attached to the wall. This figure is in dancing pose having six arms. Two other cult images are also found, one on the northern wall and other on the southern wall. The composite figure of Hari and Hara are found in the northern wall. The images are four armed. The normal pairs of hands are seen in *Barada* and *Abhaya Mudra*. But the upper pair contains the *ayudha* of both the gods. The right hand is seen holding a trident- the prominent features of Siva, while the left hand is shown with a *chakra*, the characteristic attribute of Vishnu (Hari). This image suggests the unity of two divergent cults i.e. Saivism and Vaisnavism. The other figure is of a lady, which is yet to be identified. It is a two armed figures but both the arms have been broken. Above the head of this figure a row of nine heads is found carved on both the sides. She is attended by two females. Very likely it is sakta goddess representing nine Durgas (*Nava Durga*).[11] Nearer to this headless image is found who is seen in standing position and wearing girdle armlets, bangles and saree. The feet are ornamented by anklets. The right hand is in *Barada Mudra* and left hand rests on the waist. This may be a divine figure probably of Goddess Parvati. This image is inside the northern balcony. In this balcony there is found the depiction of erotic couple and carved beautifully on a polished stone. The male and female both are standing naked in amorous play of love and are kissing the lips of each other. Charles Fabri describes it as follows: "In the case of lovers I could like to draw attention not only to the beauty of the shape of the standing lovers but the gentleness and tenderness with which the man holds in his hand the lovely foot and girl. Most unusual composition to which has no parallel. Indeed it would be false to call this an erotic image this is not eroticism. This is loving tenderness and love in its full sense".[12]

The carving of the pillars and pilasters with beautiful figures of *Salabhanjikas, Matrikas*, aromous couples and ladies in various poses including looking at a mirror yet another remarkable feature of this temple complex. They are all carved sensitively and display delicates figure modelling. Many of the figures through unassociated with divinity, have haloes which are often carved with rays within a beaded circle, semicircular medallions placed almost like an umbrella above each pilaster figure, these being rounded above with the lower inner section carved to depict a *Gandharva* couple contained within a beaded and flowered border.[13]

As the hind part of the male figure is attached to the wall and the female clings to the body of the male have raised her left foot and placed it on the right palm of the male, the sculpture may be called a variation of *Vriksadhirudhaka*. While the male looks normal, the female appears to be very passionate. In front of this sculpture, a figure is seen gracefully carved. These sculptures represent the deliberate tendency of the artist to twist the body into sinuous attitudes. The figure is in *bhanga* pose having prominent breasts. The right hand rose upwards holding a portion of saree and the left rests on the waist within which also a portion of her saree is visible, probably engaged in removing her cloths. On the left side is carved a wooden stand (*Rukha*) on which a parrot is sitting. The head of the parrot is lost. A similar

figure is also found in the Kosalesvar temple of Patnagarh.[14] This can be identified with *Suka Sarika* or *Suka Vilasa*, one of the arts of female in pastime. Not far from this a female figure is very delicately carved on a pillar of the balcony. This is a lovely lady re-adjusting her head ornament with her hand by looking into mirror. The mirror is damaged.

These types of *Alaskaanyas* are seen on the southern balcony also. A female under the foot of the tree is curved standing at ease, the left leg of whom being raised up to the knee rests on the stem of the tree and the left hand holds one of the bending leafy branches of the tree. Another female is standing beneath the tree laden with fruits holding a baby on her waist by the right arm and drawing a branch by her left hand with the help of the right fore arm she is raising the right hand of the baby towards the fruits perhaps to make the baby able to pluck the same. This figure (art) is locally known a *Santana Batsala* image . Behind her is a small figure of a female attendant.

Charles Fabri mentions that these figures, particularly the women with a mirror adjusting her ornaments are the masterpieces of 6th century art. But these female figures are found in a later temple like Muktesvara, Brahmesvara and Lingaraj etc. So while dating these figures one has to depend on other corroborative evidence for, certain forms persists over a prolonged period with some modification or no modification at all .So we find the same type of female figures without any change or sometimes with slight change in the temple of Pasuramesvara, Vaital, Sisiresvara, Brahmesvara, the dates of which is between the second part of the 7th century A.D. and the middle of the 11th century A.D.[15] Therefore, Charles Fabri thinks to be the art of 6th and 7th century may be the art of the second part of the 11th century A.D.

Among the other remnants, a *Mahisamardini* Durga is in small porch inside the premises, is still worshipped by the people. Near it an image of Ganesa is also found in temple premises. An image of Kartikeya is found with its two associates-peacock and cock. Kartikeya here is sitting on the peacock and patting a cock by the left hand, which is on his left tigh. The presence of Kartikeya with two mounts also suggests a later date of the temple. These three figures are referred to above where very likely previously attached to the original sanctum as the *Parsvadebatas* when the temple broke down, the side deities were taken away and kept separately for worship.

The temple has a *Bhrusava Mandapa* or entrance porch to *jagamohana.* It is also known as *Nandi mandapa*, *Nandi* the vehicle of Lord Siva is worshipped there and faced towards the *Siva Linga* of the sanctum. The recently made *viman* contain *pista, bada, gandi* and *mastaka.* It is *pidha* type of temple and *gandi* has five tiers of *pidha. Siva Linga* is enshrined in the *garbhagriha* and copper *Naga* is encircled on the *Lingam.* The image of Ganesha, Parvati and Kartikeya are found in *garbhagriha.* The brass made image of Siva-Parvati found in the sanctum.

A small shrine made of only sized out-stones is called Subhesvara temple, which is situated adjacent to the outside enclosure of the main temple. People say that the builder first founded this temple and then built the main temple.[16] There is a Lingam of black chlorite stone. The Linga is made in section, the joint of which has been done by a socket-cylinder

system. The lintel of its entrance contains a *Navagraha* panel which originally was attached to the entrance of the sanctum. The representation of *Navagraha* occurs for the first time in Mukteswara temple.[17] If we analyse this panel in view, the time of the temple will be the same as that of Mukteswara temple or post prior to it. The Khambeswari stone inscription of Bhanudev I is the first lithic record referring to a gift to Lord Baidyanatha. It shows that the Lord was well known by the 13th century A.D.[18] The Telugu-Choda rulers of Suvarnapura in their copper plate grants i.e. Mahada copper plate, Patna meseum plate and Kumarisimha plate-pay their homage to Lord Baidyanath, which indicate that the god was already in existence by that time. It is very very likely that the temple was constructed by Telugu-Choda ruler Someswara II the issuer of the Mahada grant. The Telugu Choda rulers refer themselves "*Baidyanath Pada-Pankaja Bhramara*" or the bee on the lotus feet of lord Baidyanath. Hence, the temple may be ascribed to the last quarter of the 11th century A.D., the, ruling period of Someswara II.[19]

These are a boundary wall around the temple and three gateways for entrance. *Sivaratri* and *Sital Sathi* are the main festival of the temple. Since 32 years, the *Nama Sakirtana* is observed in every month. For this purpose there is a *Sankirtana Mandapa* also. *Holi* of Lord Siva is celebrated in *Dola Purnima* in the temple complex's *Dolamandapa*. Large numbers of Bolbam Devotees gather here in the month of *Sravana*. The devotees take their holy dip in the river Tel and worship Lord for the whole month of *Kartika. Kartika Purnima* is observed with pomp. Many devote from near the village come to the temple.[20]

From the above discussion, it is clear that Kosalesvar Temple of Baidyanath is not only significant in historical point of view but also famous for it's art and architectural point of view. It appears that the temple was constructed during the time of Telugu-Chodas rule. The Telugu-chodas ruled odisha in second half of the 11th century. They had deep faith on the Lord Baidyanath and ascended the title themselves as "Baidyanath Pada Pankaja Bhramara" (The Bee on the Lotus feet of the Lord Baidyanath) in their copper plate charters. As the Kosalesvar temple of Baidyanath is very akin to the Kapilesvar temple of Charda. Western Odisha is one of the tribal belt of Odisha and many tribes live here. The reflection of tribal life is seen in the Baidyanath Temple. Here is depicted the domestic life of the tribal people. *Santana Batsala* figure, another remarkable fine art is found in the temple. This figure is rarely found in the temple of Odisha. The Maiden figures are also found in the Saiva Temple of Baidyanath. It implies the tantric influence of Saivism. The composite figure of Hari and Hara are found in the Baidyanath Temple. The Sakta and Vaisnavite inflences are also found on the Saiva temple.

Now the Kosalesvar temple of Baidyanath is in bad condition. It requires more protection and preservation. The Baidyanath Temple is one of the excellent monument and best specimen of Odishan Temple architecture. This temple speaks about the social, religious, cultural, political and economical condition of that period. This temple stands in a picturesque background on the left bank of the river Tel. This is a place of pilgrimages and famous for the temple of antiquarian value. The Kosalesvar temple of Baidyanath is greatly resposible in enriching the art and architecture of Odisha in general and Suvarnapur district in particular.

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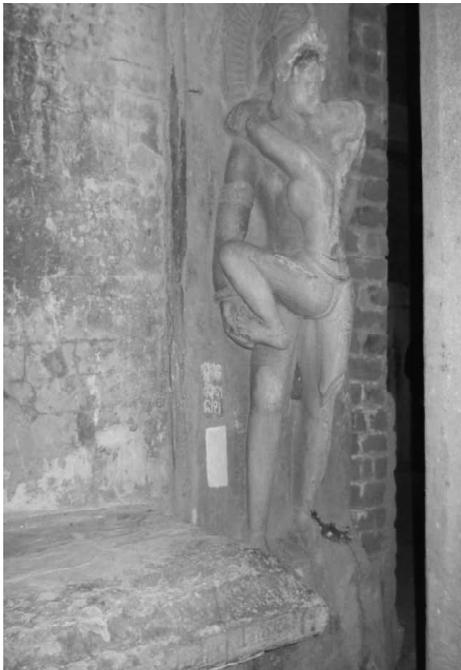
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Koshalesvara Siva Temple of Baidyanath, Sonepur

Balcony of Baidyanath Temple, Sonepur.

Erotic Sculpture of Baidyanath Temple, Sonepur.

Gandharva Image of Baidyanath Temple, Sonepur.

Santanabatsala Image of Baidyanath Temple, Sonepur.

Pillar of Baidyanath Temple, Sonepur

MEANINGS AND CONNOTATIONS OF THE TERM *PATITA* IN BRAHMANICAL LAW CODES AND THE BHAKTI TRADITION :

An Analysis

Punyashlok Dash

Abstract

The word *patita* occupies an important place in Hindu religious discourse. The paper seeks to discuss the evolution, meaning and genesis of *patita*. In the Dharma literature *patita* simply meant someone who had lost his/her caste because of the commitment of certain serious sins. Being fallen from caste led to excommunication and complete exclusion from socio-religious life. This paper tries to show that *patita* acquired many more meanings in the bhakti tradition. It refers to persons fallen in danger, sinners, and the lower sections of the society including Sudras. It is argued here that the ideas embodied by the word *patita* proved useful to the ideology of bhakti. Hence devotionalism appropriated the idea of being fallen and, going against the Dharma tradition, applied it to promote inclusiveness.

Key words: Patita, Caste, Sin, Exclusion, Bhakti

Introduction

Religious tradition undergo transformation as time continnum. The ideas, concepts, categories, and symbols associated with subject to change. Sometimes the core meaning of a term stays relatively stable, but its connotations change drastically in a new context. A case in point is the term *patita* or 'fallen' which is commonly used in Hindu religious discourses. Especially in Odisha one can find the use of this word in medieval Odia poetry, hagiographies, modern devotional album songs, to name a few. Lord Jagannatha is popularly called *patita-pavana* or saviour of the fallen, an appellation that is shared by Vaishnava incarnations in general. Ironically, because of its prominence the meaning of *patita* is assumed to be too well known to deserve scholarly attention. From this one may draw a mistaken conclusion that this word has a single meaning and it has been used in the same sense wherever it occurs. A nuanced understanding about it may be developed through an investigation into its history, evolution, and representation in different genres of religious texts. At the outset it may be said that *patita* was a very important category in the Dharma literature consisting of *Dharmasutras* and *Dharmashastras*. The paper describes in detail how this term connoted socio-religious exclusion in these brahmanical texts. The multiplication of its meaning(s) in bhakti literature is also identified and underlined. The paper argues that bhakti tradition borrowed some ideas associated with this term from Dharma texts as it found those particularly useful for its ideology. This new form of religiosity sought to triumph over orthodox brahmanical tradition by redefining the consequences of being a fallen person.

Etymology of '*Patita*'

The word *patita* is derived from the Sanskrit verbal root *pat*. According to Apte, some of the meanings of *pat* are to fall, to throw oneself down, to fall at someone's feet, to become wretched or miserable, to lose one's caste or rank, to fall morally, to descend from heaven, and to go down to hell.[1] *Patana*, another derivative of this root, also implies decline, adversity, death, apostasy, and falling from dignity and virtue. A person can be called a *patita* if he/she has descended or come down in a literal sense, or is defeated in a battle, morally fallen, degraded, wicked, apostate, or is an outcast.[2] Monier-Williams also gives similar meanings of these terms. To *patita* he adds the connotation of being an out-caste or excommunicated from a caste group.[3] The *Purnnachandra Odia Bhashakosha* associates a few more ideas with this term which were implicit in the definitions given above. According to it *patita* implies a low, mean, 'unholy or impure' being, a sinner, and one who does not observe the duties of his/her caste or society.[4]

'*Patita*' in the Dharma Tradition

The age of Dharma literature was preceded by the Upanishadic age. Upanishads contained references to certain kinds of degrading sins which were later taken up by the Dharma texts. *Chandogya Upanishad* (henceforth *CU*) (5.3.1-5.10.10) records the conversation between Pravahana Jaivali and Gautama Aruni.[5] Jaivali instructs that a person whose conduct is good would have a good birth in a Brahmin, Kshatriya, or Vaishya family. But one with a bad conduct would find himself/herself in the inferior womb of a dog, pig, or an outcaste Chandala.[6] The evil actions which lead to this bad fate are stealing gold, drinking liquor, killing a Brahmin, having sexual intercourse with the wife of a teacher, and associating oneself with those who do these. Men who commit these acts 'fall'.[7] The consequence faced by them, captured by the Sanskrit term *patanti*, is more clearly translated by Hume as to 'sink downward in the scale'.[8] As this injunction is set within the broader discourse on the doctrine of karma, 'fall' here refers to a rebirth as an inferior creature or in the lowest section of the human society as a result of one's bad actions in contrast to better rebirths which the text associates with the three higher *varnas*. This contradicts the reading of *CU* (5.10.9) by Radhakrishnan who tries to establish that the idea of *patita* should not be understood in terms of caste. For him, a *patita* is not an untouchable but only a wicked man. In his reading it is one's conduct alone which elevates or degrades him irrespective of his caste.[9] But here the context makes it clear that even though fallenness is not synonymous with being an untouchable, it cannot be completely divorced from a caste-based system. The reference here is not primarily to moral fall but to the actual degradation in the physical and social existence experienced by an embodied soul. The discussion of fall in *CU* is also in terms of a grand scheme of things involving transmigration which transcends the experiences of a single life bounded within a person's birth and death.

'*Patita*' primarily has a technical meaning in the *Dharmasutras* and *Dharmashastras* given the very nature of these texts. This literature deals with the laws or authoritative rules of individual and social behaviour in all aspects of life based on 'one's social identity according to age, gender, caste, marital status, and order of life'.[10] A genre of work strongly normative

in character has to be attentive to the possibility of the breaking of norms and the necessity of preventive and corrective measures. These texts were not objective representations of the actual life of the people in ancient India but were guidebooks on how one ought to live in the contemporary society. In reality there were many deviations from the ideal. *Manusmriti* (henceforth *MS*), for example, is aware that Aryas, who were supposed to be virtuous and righteous, could behave like Anaryas.[11] Hence the subject matter of these texts includes different types of sins and the ritualistic means of expiation. What the *Dharmashastra* tradition intends, in the words of Deshpande, is 'to prevent the fall of an Arya from the moral and social standing expected of an Arya'.[12]

A synonym of sin is *pataka*, which literally means something which causes *patana* or fall. All sins can be said to be leading to a moral fall. The fallenness implied by *patita* however is used in a more restricted sense in the Dharma literature. *Apastamba Dharmasutra* (henceforth *AD*) distinguishes between *pataniya* and *ashuchikara* sins. The latter only causes impurity and makes a person sordid.[13] The former, derived from the verbal root *pat*, refers to those sins which cause the loss of or fall from caste. This makes a person *patita*. In this category are included homicide, theft, and neglect of the Vedas etc.[14] Even voyage by sea and trading with any kind of merchandise are considered *pataniya* by *Baudhayana Dharmasutra* (henceforth *BD*).[15] Later texts make a further division between grievous sins (*mahapataka*) and secondary sins (*upapataka*) causing the loss of caste.[16] In the list of *mahapataka*, *Gautama Dharmasutra* (henceforth *GD*) includes killing of Brahmins, consumption of liquor, stealing of gold, association with outcastes, and a certain kinds of immoral sexual relations.[17] This is a repetition of the sins enumerated in *CU* (5.10.9) cited above. This list of grievous sins is repeated again in works like *Vashistha Dharmasutra* (henceforth *VD*) (1.19-21)[18] and *MS* (11.55)[19]. A killer of cows, a student who breaks the vow of chastity, and one who forgets the Veda are accused of committing *upapatakas*.[20] Into the same list *BD* adds the practice of professions like medicine, teaching dance, performing in theatre, and taking care of cattle.[21] *MS* (11.60-67) also gives an extensive list of secondary sins which leads to loss of caste.[22]

Excommunication and Exclusion from Religious Activities

Fall from one's caste is followed by a number of significant changes in the social position of the person. *AD* (1.22.5-6)[23] and *BD* (2.3.41)[24] instruct that social interaction or association with outcastes is not permitted. The very touch of such people should be avoided. It is as polluting as touching a Chandala, a menstruating woman, and a corpse and requires bathing.[25] A seat, bed, or any vehicle becomes polluted when it is occupied by an outcaste.[26] So one should neither share a seat nor travel with such a person. *GD* (22.5) ordains that a Brahmin-killer should 'get out of the road' upon seeing an Arya.[27] One must not speak to *patitas* even while engaging with them under exceptional circumstances. No economic transactions like buying, selling, and borrowing is to be undertaken with a sinner who has not been purified.[28] Marital and sexual relationship with *patitas* is strictly prohibited.[29] One should not receive food or alms or any valuable item from them.[30] According to *VD* (8.17), a Brahmin who avoids the food of *patitas* does not fall from *brahmaloka* or the realm of Brahman.[31]

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Under no circumstance should outcastes be included in the sphere of religion in which the Aryas participate. They must be excluded from all religious activities.[32] Veda should not be recited in the presence of a Shudra, a Chandala, and a *patita* who are unworthy of it.[33] One should not teach an outcaste nor be taught from someone who has lost his caste. A noble Brahmin must not perform sacrifices for an outcaste, nor should anyone have his sacrifice be officiated by a fallen priest. Food prepared for an ancestral offering should be kept away from the polluting sight of outcastes, Chandalas, and dogs.[34] It is advised that outcastes should not be fed while performing ancestral offerings.[35] But *VD* (11.9) allows the householder to throw a portion of the food on the ground for such people and for dogs and crows.[36] This shows the kind of treatment a *patita* was expected to receive whose status was not better than an inferior creature.

The loss of one's caste entails excommunication from the community of Aryas or the noble followers of the brahmanical religion. The set of rules appropriate for a *varna* or caste constituted its *dharma*. A caste and its *dharma* are indistinguishable. Membership of a caste is contingent on abiding by its norms. Aryaness and *dharma*, understood in a broader sense, had a symbiotic relationship. That conduct was righteous which had the approval of learned and disciplined Aryas.[37] Conversely, what distinguished an Arya from an Anarya despite external similarities are his actions in conformity with his *dharma*.[38] Hence, omission and commission of acts in opposition to its dictates may be regarded as a failure of the person to conduct himself/herself as an Arya or, more specifically, as a member of his/her particular caste. The abdication of duties and responsibilities takes away from him/her the associated privileges, that is, of belonging to the community and participation in its regular activities like its characteristic occupations, rituals, and communal life. Strict measures are necessary to enforce the prohibition of social interaction with the *patitas*. Excommunication implies the cessation of membership of the caste group to which the person in question belonged and also ostracization from the society at large. Fall from caste naturally implies the loss of right over its occupation.[39] A *patita* Brahmin, for example, has no right to teach the Veda, to officiate at the sacrifice of others, or to receive gifts to which he would have been eligible otherwise. As outcastes have no place among the Aryas, they have to live away from the latter in a common settlement. They would have to teach and officiate at the sacrifice of each other and conduct marriage among them themselves. Their sons should be sent away from them after birth so as to be accepted among the Aryas.[40] Some of these injunctions are similar to those issued with regard to Chandalas and Svapachas in the *Manusmriti*.[41] Excommunication also operates at the other-world in the sense that the fallen would not get a place in the heaven after their death. A person fallen from caste lacks religious merit as a result of which he/she surely goes to hell.[42] Same is the view of *MS* (12.54) according to which grievous sinners who had fallen from their caste suffer in hell for long after which they take different inferior rebirths as per the nature of their sins.[43]

The suspension of the association of a fallen person with the Aryas is made effective through a strict regime of fear of pollution and fall. Commenting on *MS* (11.180), Medhatithi says that a person becomes an outcaste himself in one year if he walks, seats, or eats with outcastes. One becomes an outcaste immediately if he sacrifices for an outcaste.[44] According

to *Vishnu Smriti* (35.5) the loss of caste is immediate when one talks with, sacrifices for, or has sexual intercourse with an outcaste.[45] In general, someone who does not forsake a fallen person commits a grievous sin and hence is to be regarded as a fallen.[46] A similar fate awaits one who allows the participation of outcaste in religious activities.[47] Also, the penance for associating with a *patita* is the same as that which has been prescribed for that *patita*.[48]

Dharma literature provides some methods of expiation through which a sinner may be purified. Purification would make a fallen period regain his caste status and thereby permit the revocation of his exclusion from the community of Aryas. An outcaste who has performed the appropriate penance should be readmitted into the society as an Arya.[49] Such a person should no longer be despised.[50] Here it may be pointed out that while *patitas* and groups like the Chandalas are considered polluting in somewhat similar ways and face similar types of exclusion and derision, there is a clear difference between them as the latter's condition is permanent and the former has a mechanism in its disposal with which their ostracization could be ended. But the nature of some sins is such that readmission into the Arya society of the person who commits those is either not permitted or not possible even after performing purifying rites. For instance, *AD* (1.28.15) suggests that the penance for having sexual intercourse with the wife of an elder is to kill oneself.[51] An opposite view condemns suicide of any kind, but also hold that such a sinner cannot be reintegrated even after removing his sin through penances.[52] Penance for some sins lasts until death in which case the sinner becomes purified after he dies.[53] So it is understandable that no readmission is possible in those cases. *GD* (21.7) invokes the authority of Manu to say that expiation is not possible in the cases of killing of a Brahmin, drinking liquor, and having sex with the wife of an elder or a lady relative.[54] If a fallen person is not willing to perform expiation for his sin, he is to be treated as dead by his relatives by performing a post-death ritual.[55] This is the ultimate type of social exclusion of a recalcitrant *patita*. The above discussion relates to the sins which are known to the public. Interestingly, Dharma literature makes a major compromise on remedies with respect to the crimes of which the society has no knowledge. In fact, reporting of a crime is not made compulsory. One is advised to not be the first to inform others about the commitment by a person of a sin which causes loss of caste.[56] For 'sins unknown to the public' performing secret penances is recommended.[57] Relatively simple penances are prescribed for a person guilty of committing even the *mahapatakas* about which others are unaware[58]. So the injunction on the loss of caste due to the commitment of grievous and secondary sins becomes operative only when the act is publicly known.

The Fallen in the Bhakti Tradition

Bhakti tradition is characterized by both continuities with and departures from the Dharma tradition with regard to the idea of *patita*. While in the Dharma literature the term *patita* is reserved for one who has fallen from his/her caste by committing certain types of sins, it is used for sinners in general in the bhakti tradition. Whether or not it leads to the loss of one's caste, commitment of a sin is regarded as a fall from morality. Even when it is not translated into action, the very harbouring of evil thought is morally degrading. Irrespective of their impact on one's caste status sins lead to the accumulation of religious demerits. This

opens the door to hell after death where Yama's punishment awaits the guilty souls. This is the second sense of fall with respect to sins. The result of performing evils actions is torture in the other-world and subsequent rebirth in the lower levels of human society or as inferior life forms. No one can escape the consequences of karma. Dharma tradition prescribed ritualistic means of expiation for purifying oneself of sins. As an alternative to arduous rituals, bhakti held that the power to cut the karmic chain and grant freedom is possessed only by god who must be approached with devotion.

The ideas of *patita* in Dharma and Bhakti traditions come together in the *Bhagavata Purana* (henceforth *BP*). Sage Shuka in Book Five of *BP* enumerates the hells to which different sinners are thrown. His discourse includes hellish punishments for sins like hurting and killing Brahmins, stealing from them, deviating from the Veda, and having illegitimate sex. The list of these sins are clearly drawn from the Dharma texts. *BP* (5.26.22) says that persons from the ruling class or responsible families who transgresse the limits of *dharma* suffer in the after-life by 'falling down' (*nipatanti*) in a river named Vaitarani.[59] A similar fall is the fate of Shudra men who do not lead a regulated life of purity and good conduct.[60] There is some overlap between this *Purana* and the Dharma texts on the idea of fall into hell as a consequence of committing sins. But the former does not put faith in atonement via self-discipline or penances and austerities. What is recommends instead is pure bhakti.[61] This marks its departure from the Dharma tradition.

The story of the archetypal *patita* Ajamila from the sixth book of *BP* may be considered here.[62] Ajamila was a Brahmin from Kanyakubja who possessed all the virtues expected of his *varna*. But he got enamoured in the love of a servant girl and abandoned his *dharma*. He transgressed the scriptures and led a sinful and impure life. The neglect of brahmanical way of life makes him fallen in the sense of losing his caste even though the text does not say so in these exact words. When he was about to die the agents of Yama came to take him so that he might be punished. A frightened Ajamila called out Narayana, his youngest son, which happened to be the name of Vishnu. This act, even though inadvertent, was enough to destroy all his sins. Hence he was freed by the messengers of Vishnu. When he died finally he was taken to Vaikuntha, the heavenly abode of Vishnu. The divine messengers say that chanting the Lord's name could purify a person who has committed sins like theft, drinking liquor, having sex with the wife of a teacher, and killing a Brahmin, king, woman, father, or cow.[63] The superiority of bhakti over Dharma tradition is emphasized in the assertion that calling out the divine name is more effective for purification than 'any rites of atonement prescribed by the sages'.[64] Another engagement with the Dharma tradition takes place at *BP* (6.2.16) which refers to the distinction between heavy and light sins made by great sages and their prescription of heavy and light methods of atonement accordingly.[65] The purport is to say that devotion is suitable to ameliorate the effect all kinds of sins irrespective of their gravity.

Going beyond the question of individual sinners, the very nature of human life on earth is characterized as sinful by devotional poets. Human beings are imperfect and they cannot avoid performing evil actions. Sin leads to suffering. Indeed devotees consider the world to be full of misery. Some schools of thought influenced by Advaita Vedanta consider

the world to be an illusion and not the ultimate reality. Earthly existence is nothing but a prison where living beings are trapped. Karma binds them in the cycle of birth, death, and rebirth. As long as one is alive one has to act. Any kind of action, whether it produces religious merit or demerit, further entangles the actor in the web of karma. The idea of fall is also used in this context in the bhakti literature. The world is compared to a boundless ocean in which human beings are said to be fallen. The helm of the boat of life is to be surrendered to god who would deliver from this precarious condition. In addition to the idea that life in general is characterized by suffering, we may also refer to the suffering of particular individuals. In this case also the idea of fall is used is to say that someone has fallen in a danger. Bhakti literature makes repeated references to the stories of devotees who were delivered from threatening situations by god because of the force of their devotion. The eighth book of *BP* narrates the story of a king of elephants named Gajendra who was attacked by a crocodile. Under great distress the former prayed to Vishnu and was rescued by him.[66] Another popular story is found in the *Mahabharata* in which Krishna saves the honour of Draupadi who was being disrobed in public in the court of Kauravas. Hagiographies like Nabhadas's *Bhaktamal* and Ramadasa's Odia *Dardhyata Bhakti Rasamruta* contain accounts of the persecution of innocent devotees by kings. These stories proceed to show how the former were rescued at the end through divine intervention. The *Bhagavad Gita* (7.16) differentiates devotees into four types one of which is those who seek relief from sufferings.[67] Though here they are called *arta* devotees, they are also generally put under the category of *patita*.

The most consequential intervention that devotionalism did was to direct the focus of religiosity towards the marginalized sections of the society. Brahmanical religion kept the Shudras at the periphery. Untouchables and any group which was not a part of the *varna* system like the Muslims existed beyond the boundaries of the society. They were excluded from socio-religious life. In bhakti literature the term *patita* came to be identified increasingly with these groups in addition to its reference to sinners. Fall of a twice-born from his/her caste was not the major concern of bhakti. Birth in a lowly communities was definitely understood as a fall in terms of caste which was attributed to the commitment of sins in the previous life. Such people were fallen since birth unlike the *patitas* of the Dharma literature. The entire life span of the former was a state of fallenness. They had little or no role to play in religious activities controlled by the upper castes, especially Brahmins. The status of the lower sections as *patitas* continued to imply exclusion from socio-religious affairs in this-world and from heaven. The only choice given to them under the Dharma paradigm was to perform their prescribed duties diligently so that they might be reborn in a higher caste. Bhakti did not necessarily dismiss *varna*-specific duties. But it was promised that the purifying power of pure devotion could ensure a place in heaven and could lead to liberation of anyone irrespective of his/her social location. As Krishna says in the *Gita* (9.32), whoever takes refuge in him gains liberation whether the person is a woman, Vaishya (trader), Shudra (servant), or of low birth. A devotee of this deity is to be regarded as good even when he/she is a sinner.[68] The lower castes could not really achieve upward social mobility and become a part of the 'Aryas' through devotion alone, but it had the power to include them in devotional communities. Through legends and hagiographical accounts it was preached that in the face

of brahmanical opposition god would intervene personally to ensure their participation in religious activities, festivals, and temples. Jagannatha is said to have taken offerings directly from the hands of Dasia Bauri who belonged to a depressed caste.[69] According to legends the deity waited in his chariot so that Salabega, a Muslim devotee, could have a glimpse of him during the Rath Yatra.[70] In another such account, the king of Puri had to obey divine command to give a place on the chariot to Balarama Das who was regarded as morally fallen and impure by the temple servitors.[71] Despite the society considering them *patitas* who should ideally be subjected to exclusion, the contrary happened because of the apparent special love of god for his fallen devotees.

Appropriation of the Idea and Its Appropriateness

Bhakti ideology appropriated the language of fall. The idea of fall and what it implied fit perfectly into the narrative of bhakti. Bhakti did not reject the label of *patita*. There are many reasons for the acceptance of this terms. Devotion is incompatible with arrogance and egoism. It requires the devotee to be humble. One of the ways in which humility may be expressed is by presenting oneself as a lowly *patita*. One who thinks of himself as free of sin and impurities cannot be humble. This also shows that he does not need a purifying agent like god. Similar is the condition of one who believes only in the teachings of the scriptures and his own agency for ameliorating his condition. God can be realized only when a devotee surrenders himself completely and puts faith in divine agency. This implies abdication of self-responsibility and confession of helplessness. God would come to a person who absolutely needs him. *Ekantika* bhakti or devotion to a single object mean that a devotee has no other recourse than god and is completely dependent on him. To show the absolute necessity of god for the devotee both are presented as radically different. If god is the Supreme Being, the purest, and the most exalted, the devotee possesses diametrically opposite qualities and hence is lowly, impure, sinful, and fallen. This relationship was complementary insofar as the omnipotence and compassionate nature of god depended on his ability and willingness to purify the fallen. Devotionalism sought victory over brahmanical religion by claiming that even those who have committed the most grievous of sins not only in this life but in millions of births can be purified through devotion. This also necessitated making *patitas* the core focus of bhakti. It was predominantly a religion of emotion. In the place of an impersonal, distant, and detached divine being more suitable for the dispassionate path of knowledge, its theology constructed a messianic god who personally intervened in worldly affairs. Such a deity was necessary to relieve the fallen masses of their suffering.

Brahmanical ideology was so influential that certain sections continued to be represented as fallen even under the sway of a new form of religiosity. Many upper-caste members of devotional sects believed in their own superior ascriptive status and the inferiority of fellow devotees from the lower castes. The hegemony of the brahmanical ideology similarly made the marginalized sections accept that they indeed were fallen even within the paradigm of bhakti. Spiritual equality and promise of other-worldly liberation could be seen as a compromise given that devotionalism did not aim at radical socio-economic change. But lower caste devotees tried to find a way to counter their marginalization while positioning themselves as *patitas*.

Mallik observes that in medieval Odisha Shudras were 'deprived of education and suffered from socio-cultural ostracism'.[72] Dharma tradition had reserved the right of engaging with Vedic-Vedantic philosophy for the twice-born castes, especially Brahmin. Odia Shudra saint-poet Balarama Das writes in his *Vedantasara Gupta Gita* that when he participated in a discussion of this high philosophy it was regarded as a transgression of *dharma* by Brahmins and he was punished by the king. Fallenness was used by Shudra devotees in contexts like these to indicate both their low socio-ritual status and their subjection to brahmanical-royal persecution. Coming back to the story, Jagannatha saved Balarama Das from persecution and this proved that Shudras could not be excluded from the domain of spiritual knowledge.[73] The demand for inclusiveness was made here successfully from the position of *patita*. In the Odia bhakti tradition legends like these are celebrated as accounts of god playing the role of the saviour of the fallen.

Conclusion

The message of the Dharma literature was that one should be careful about one's conduct so as to avoid fall. A fallen state is the worst kind of existence. There was no place in the brahmanical society for a person who lost his/her caste. The sins responsible for causing this also contributed, in the absence of expiation, to fall in the other-world and in the next life. In opposition to this bhakti taught to embrace fallenness. Some accuse it of encouraging immoral activities because sinners were apparently forgiven easily without facing repercussions. This may have been true in some cases. But actually devotionalism diversified the meaning of fall and went beyond the restricted sense in which it was used in the Dharma texts. It held that all types of fallen, including those who were fallen in immediate dangers, in the ocean of worldly existence, sinners, and ascriptive *patitas* deserved considerate attention. A category which earlier implied exclusion was redefined in such a way that it came to be regarded as the most worthy of socio-religious inclusion. Dharma tradition detested the fallen, but bhakti preached that they deserved compassion and represented god as compassionate. In fact it promoted self-representation as a *patita* which can be seen in numerous devotional works, something that would have been beyond the comprehension of the authors of brahmanical law books.

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CONTRIBUTION OF PRITILATA WADDEDAR TO THE INDIAN STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

Zeenat Mahzabin

Abstract

Our textbooks of Indian colonial history have mentioned the prominent names of male leaders including Mahatma Gandhi, Subhash Chandra Bos, Chandrashekhar Azad, and other notable male independence fighters, but they hardly ever mention their female counterparts. Even though we only know a small number of these historical figures and their histories are vague to us, they endured a variety of hardships, such as social disintegration, family pressure, brutality from English males, and incarceration. The research paper aims to investigate the prominent unsung freedom fighter named Pritilata Waddedar and her contributions to the Indian struggle for independence. Pritilata Waddedar is praised as "Bengal's first woman martyr and contributor of radical moments. Having graduated with distinction in philosophy, she embarked on a career as a school teacher in Bengal. During the initial phase of her professional journey, she actively engaged in radical movements by the Revolutionary Group of Bengal led by Surya Sen. Her most notable achievement was commanding fifteen revolutionaries in the armed attack on the Pahartali European Club in 1932, which resulted in one fatality and eleven injuries. The colonial police later apprehended the rebels after they set fire to the club and lastly, Pritilata used cyanide to end her own life to save her radical mission for independence. In this research, we shed light on the life history and unsung narratives of Pritilata Waddedar through an extensive literature review of both published and unpublished historical documents. This research has proven instrumental in addressing a notable lacuna in the discourse on regional-scale independence movements, particularly underscoring the hitherto underexplored dimension of the contributions made by female freedom fighters.

Key words: Pritilata Wadeddar, Fighter, Revolutionary, Freedom, Struggle, Feminist.

Introduction

Indian women have always stood shoulder to shoulder-with males in times of need for the nation. Numerous examples of women stepping up to provide their power and intelligence for causes they believed important for the nation's advancement, sovereignty, and well-being can be found throughout history. The nineteenth century saw the creation of the first historical narrative about Indian women, which comes from the experience of colonization. These stories portray a time in ancient history when women were highly respected, followed by a protracted period in which their status declined. In India, women have endured societal oppression and subordination to men for countless years. Women were relegated to a lower status than men due to the numerous religions practiced in India and the personal rules derived from them during the Early Medieval Period. It is asserted that compared to

later eras, women's status was far better during the Vedic period. Manu said long ago that "gods visited places where they were worshipped; "yatra Naryastu pujyante"- ramante tatra devata. However, indeed, women have never enjoyed an equal status or position with males in any historical era. Hindu society has erred towards the extreme submission of the woman to the husband, instead advocating for the wife's total integration into the husband. The status of women is not favourable in Smritis. Women cannot be independent at any point in their lives, according to Manu. They must always be guided by their parents before getting married, by their husbands after being married, and by their children if they become widows. Indian women's status during the medieval era was extremely precarious. Both Muslims and Hindus have adopted the polygamous norm. Women were forced to live behind the purdah in several areas of the nation. The majority of the time, women had to reside on the premises of their homes to refrigerate food, feed, and look after their children and other family members. In certain regions of the nation, especially in Bengal and Rajasthan, the terrible tradition of widows self-immolating, or sati, was prevalent. (Bjorkert, 2005)

Hindu women were not granted the ability to inherit property or to end an unsatisfactory marriage. Muslim women were allowed to inherit property, but not as much as males were. The social standing of Muslim women and Hindu women was very comparable. They were entirely reliant on men in both situations, both socially and economically. The situation did not change at the start of the British era. The majority of Indian women were denied the opportunity to receive an education, and they were even taught to embrace their subjugation. Even if certain women stood out in personality and character at every age, they were the exception and did not alter the overall situation. Throughout the nineteenth century, a great deal of effort was put forth by several reform societies, religious organisations, and private citizens to promote education among women, promote widow remarriage, enhance widows' living conditions, forbid child marriage, extricate women from purdah, and enforce monogamy, among other goals. The renowned social reformer of contemporary India, Rajaram Mohan Roy, bravely battled against the ills of Indian society. He led a historic campaign of advocacy against the barbaric tradition of women being forced into sati. The government passed the Sati Abomination Act on December 4, 1828, as a result of his extraordinary efforts. Additionally, he demands that women can inherit property. His organization, Brahma Samadhi, was established in 1929 and became well-known as Brahmo Samadhi. It accomplished a great deal to improve the status of women in Indian society. widow education, prohibition on child marriage, widow remarriage, etc. (Bandyopadhyay, 2015)

The national movement significantly boosted women's emancipation efforts in the 20th century. Many prevalent political leaders, including Mahatma Gandhi, pushed for the advancement of women during the first part of the current century. A broad, all-encompassing national movement that swept many women into its vortex received guidance, inspiration, and strength from Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi saw the power in women, and his words gave Indian women a chance to move past their country's history and all of its miseries. Furthermore, Gandhi offered women's participation the much-needed substance by associating it with social and economic improvements. The Indian independence movement saw a significant and active role for women. Bengal's mass involvement against the British

government accelerated after the campaign for home rule. During the Swadeshi movement, many women spun and distributed khadi, marched in procession, picketed stores selling foreign clothing and alcohol, and were imprisoned. Indian women's awakening and independence were facilitated by their involvement in national movements (Kumari et al. 2003).

Research Methodology

The planned study will be descriptive and exploratory. By discussing the personal and political lives of the women who fought for independence, this study will employ inductive reasoning to explain the unique role that each of them played. This project will attempt to examine both primary and secondary literary sources to unearth the stories of overlooked women soldiers and leaders.

Personal letters, articles, historical newspapers, British government reports, police statements, and speeches by Gandhi about women's status, empowerment, participation in independence movements, and other relevant fields will all be used as primary sources.

Director Kolkata.

Contribution of Pritilata Wadeddar in Indian freedom struggle

The Swadeshi Movement was the first significant attempt at a nationwide popular movement, although, the efforts vanished by 1907; the next significant attempt was launched after World War I where three distinct political action experiments were witnessed by the national movement in the interim years, each of which made a unique contribution to the advancement and maturation of national consciousness. The first attempt at revolutionary nationalism coincided with the end of the Swadeshi movement's mass phase, whereas the Ghadar Movement took place during the First World War. The two main streams of revolutionary nationalism emerged in India after 1922 and continued to grow in the following years. The

former central provinces of Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal, Punjab, and Uttar Pradesh were the epicenters of the revolutionaries' activities. The revolutionary nationalist movement gained momentum due to dissatisfaction with Gandhi's leadership and his nonviolent struggle method following the suspension of the Non-Cooperation Movement. The revolutionary nationalists were motivated to create a new society devoid of exploitation and passion by the notion of freedom. Among the early revolutionary movements were the Anushilan and Jugantar societies. The revolutionary movements spread throughout the nation and occasionally beyond India's borders. The best illustration of this is the Ghadar Party. These movements were brutally put down by the government. Nevertheless, these initiatives were effective in fostering and broadening anti-British awareness, although, their main flaw was that they were generally cut off from the public. Two main streams of revolutionary nationalism emerged in India after 1922, one in Bengal and the other in Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Madhya Pradesh (Kumari et al. 2003).

During this time, the revolutionaries in both regions were shifting from the concept of individual bravery to that of mass-based violent resistance. Even while the movement's declared goal of organizing a widespread armed uprising was not achieved, it nevertheless made a significant contribution to the ongoing national fight against colonialism. Indian youth were inspired by the bravery, selflessness, and patriotism of the revolutionary nationalists, who helped them regain their pride and confidence.

The contribution of women freedom fighters in the Indian freedom movement is significant and cannot be ignored. However, during the writing of Indian history, many important sections of society were overlooked. This was not necessarily a deliberate omission, but rather a result of certain factors. After the renaissance, the subaltern studies movement helped to bring to light the previously ignored figures, and they were included in the pages of historical writing. Therefore, the Indian independence movement included many more personalities than were originally documented in the writing of Indian history. The radical activism of the Indian freedom movement was typified by military resistance, secrecy, and ideological underpinnings like nationalism and socialism. It operated covertly, took aim at emblems of British authority, and encountered severe repression. Despite being lesser in scope than nonviolent movements, it was crucial in igniting anti-colonial feelings. Many revolutionary women participated in the Indian struggle for freedom. female revolutionary giving proof of his amazing power, she stood shoulder to shoulder with men and astonished the external forces ruling India with her courage. We can highlight many revolutionary women names who deserve equal importance to men in the Indian freedom struggle. When the names of women revolutionaries come up in the Indian freedom struggle, then Leela Nag, Pritilata Vadaddar, Kalpana Dutt, Bina Dus, Santi Ghos, and Suniti Choudhary are important for Modern Indian History.

The present study focuses on Pritilata Wadeddar who contributed Indian freedom struggle and sacrificed her life for the nation. Pritilata was born on 5 May 1911 in Chittagong, Present Bangladesh. Her father Jagat Bandhu worked as an upper-grade clerk the "*Bade Babu*" in the District Magistrate Office in Chittagong. She passed the 12th class from Dhaka

College in 1930 and stood first in the entire college. She has been interested in politics and social work since her childhood and became a member of "*Balchar Sanstha*" during her school life. She taught the path of service and discipline. In the "*Balchar Sanstha*," the members had to take an oath to remain loyal to the British Emperor. This rule of the organization irritated Pritilata and from here the seeds of rebellion grew in her mind. Seeing the plight of farmers and laborers in the country and the barbaric oppression inflicted upon them by the British, a storm arose in Pritilata's mind and she thought it appropriate to use her talent and ability not to make a career of herself but to follow the revolutionary path and serve the public. After Passing out from college she came in contact with Suryasen, a leading revolutionary leader of the Bengal Presidency. He was the leading revolutionary leader of Chittagong present Bangladesh in 1930 and played an important role in Gadar Paty. Later he formed a guerrilla group of several young students and young freedom fighters who were interested in radical activities and confidential moments against the British Government. In January 1930 the radical group of Master Suryasen and his guerrilla group planned to attack the British and create terror among them. However, his activities were taped by the British secret force and the Indian police officers, he was pursued by the police; he used to hide and flee, making it dangerous to meet them. However, due to financial difficulties in the early 1930s, Pritilata had to work as a teacher after graduating from college and developed into a skilled educator. Even being active in her career, she used to spend a large part of her income on revolutionary activities (Tated, 2018).

Pritilata Wadeddar, a companion of Surya Sen, the leading revolutionary leader of Bengal, is the first woman revolutionary of India. He set a great example at a young age. After the Chittagong Armory incident on 18 April 1930, there was a fierce conflict between the British Army and the revolutionaries. In a direct encounter in Jalalabad, many soldiers of the British Army were killed and many revolutionaries were martyred. The soldiers were innumerable. The number of revolutionaries was limited. Master Surya Sen ordered his comrades to wage a guerrilla fight one by one. Pritilata was a member of this guerrilla group. In this encounter, the people of the party and Suryasen Pritilata, after losing some of their companions, descended the hill and dispersed. Police started chasing them. Considering the situation as critical, Surya Sen gave the order. "Take up arms and fight" Captain Kamran was killed by a bullet in the second direct encounter on the night of 12 June 1932. Suryasen and Pritilata showed amazing courage. Responding to the bullets with bullets, both of them somehow escaped. Pritilata and Suryasen remained hidden for a few days in the house of Savitri Devi, a woman helpful to the group. The British government announced a reward of Rs 10,000 for the arrest of Master Suryasen. Surya Sen made a plan to avenge the murder of his revolutionary friend by attacking a European club situated at the foothills of the hill and killing the English people who were indulging in dancing. (Tated,2018)

On June 12, 1932, Suryasen and Gupta made a plan with their friends when the police surrounded them, and firing started from both sides. In which the English police captain was killed, and many revolutionaries were martyred, but Master Suryasen and Pritilata were successful in escaping, after which Pritilata came under the radar of the police. The police demanded a reward for giving information and when this news was published in the newspapers

along with her photo, her parents came to know that she worked with an extremist revolutionary group. After this incident, Pritilata's stature increased a lot among the revolutionaries. Master Suryasen was proud of the bravery of his young female companion. They knew that Pritilata had dedicated her life to the country. She was determined and always focused on her goals. She proved to be a strong and clever commander.

There was a European club in Chittagong. The British officer loved dancing and singing in the evenings. used to come there for entertainment. Suryasen planned to destroy this club because the British had targeted a woman who had given shelter to the revolutionaries. Pritilata was assigned to lead the attack, donned military attire, and armed herself with pistols and bombs. Suryasen knew that the competition would be tough. The British can also spy on the revolutionaries. They can catch Pritilata and know the names of their plans and the people associated with them. To avoid being arrested by the police, she had kept a packet of poison with her. She had vowed that if she was surrounded by the police, she would consume poison. Mahendra Chaudhuri, Sushila Dey, Prafulla Das, Prabhat Bal, Manorjan Sen along Pritilata were the team members of this revolutionary action on the European club in Chittagong. Apart from these, fifty-five youths and women were also involved in the revolution. According to the plan, Pritilata along with her people attacked the European Club. A dozen British officers were injured in the attack. There was also news of a woman being killed. (Singh,1991)

Pritilata attacked bravely; the attack was so deadly that no one got a chance to recover. Pritilata's entire focus was on her target. She was acting like a commander. Bullets were fired for hours between the British and the revolutionaries. Finally, the revolutionaries ran out of bullets. Now the British soldiers started thrashing them. Soon the revolutionaries were killed. Pritilata was also surrounded by the police. Understanding Pritilata, it is impossible to escape from here alive. She consumed poison to escape from the police and while dying, she raised the slogan of *"Inkâlâb Jindâbâd"*. After Pritilata's sacrifices, a letter was found in the house of Pritilata when her house was searched by a British officer. On which it was written, "*The path to be adopted after the Chittagong Armory incident will be the primary form of future rebellion. This struggle will continue till India gets complete independence.*"(Tated,2018)

From the observation it is concluded that Pritilata's contributions to the Indian freedom movement cannot be ignored. She proved to be a true patriot and an unforgettable personality by sacrificing her life in the path of the Indian freedom movement. Her contributions have played the role of becoming a guiding form for all those women who participated in the Indian freedom movement. Pritilata's strong determination earned her the honour of becoming the first female martyr of Bengal and the commanding revolutionary member of Master Suryasen's group.

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A VIBRANT HERITAGE ON A GLOBAL STAGE: A STUDY OF MADHUBANI ART

Ajit Kumar

Abstract

Madhubani art, a vibrant folk art form from the Mithila region of Bihar, India, has undergone a remarkable transformation in the era of globalization. Traditionally practiced by women on mud walls for religious and social occasions. This art has transcended its local roots to find a place on canvases, clothing, and home ware, reaching a global audience. This paper explores the intricate relationship between Madhubani art and globalization. Secondly examines how globalization has impacted the production, themes, and market reach of Madhubani art. Thirdly it analyzes the challenges and opportunities that globalization presents for the sustainability and future of this unique art form.

Key words : Madhubani Art, Globalization, Mithila, Market, Visual

Introduction

Madhubani art, a vibrant tapestry of intricate lines and mythical narratives, has captivated audiences for centuries. Its origins lie nestled within the mud walls of Mithila, a region straddling the borders of India and Nepal. Traditionally, women of the region adorned their homes with these colorful depictions, weaving stories of deities, epics, and everyday life onto the very fabric of their dwellings. These weren't mere decorations; they were a visual language, a cultural inheritance passed down through generations,[1] serving a myriad of purposes -religious, social, and artistic.

However, the 21st century has witnessed a metamorphosis in the world of Madhubani art. Globalization, the ever-expanding web of interconnected cultures and economies, has irrevocably altered the landscape of this ancient art form. The once-confined village walls have morphed into international galleries, with Madhubani art adorning not just mud walls, but canvases, textiles, and home ware, captivating a global audience. This newfound fame has ushered in an era of both opportunity and challenge, presenting a complex narrative of artistic evolution in the face of a globalized world.

This paper delves into the intricate relationship between Madhubani art and globalization. It unpacks the multifaceted impacts that globalization has had on this traditional art form, meticulously examining its production, themes, and market reach. We will embark on a journey to understand how globalization has facilitated the shift from walls to canvases, fostering increased accessibility for both artists and art enthusiasts. We will explore the transformation of themes and styles, witnessing the emergence of contemporary narratives

alongside the enduring charm of mythological depictions. Additionally, we will delve into the globalized market, analyzing the economic opportunities and challenges that this new reality presents for Madhubani artists and their communities.

The narrative, however, is not without its complexities. Globalization, while a catalyst for artistic growth, also raises concerns about the potential dilution of cultural significance and the risk of exploitation. We will scrutinize the potential pitfalls of commodification and cultural appropriation, where the essence of Madhubani art could be compromised in the pursuit of commercial success.[2]

Understanding these challenges is crucial if we are to chart a course for the sustainable future of Madhubani art. With this in mind, we will explore strategies that can be implemented to navigate the currents of globalization effectively. This includes advocating for fair trade practices that ensure artists receive a fair share of the profits generated from their work (Bacon, 2008). Geographical Indications (GIs) offer another avenue, providing legal protection for the unique identity of Madhubani art and safeguarding it from imitation.

Furthermore, the importance of documentation and education cannot be overstated. Meticulous documentation of traditional techniques and narratives is vital for preserving the cultural heritage embedded within Madhubani art. Educational initiatives can create a more informed global audience, fostering a deeper appreciation for the art form and its significance.[3] Finally, striking a balance between innovation and tradition appears to be the key to ensuring continued relevance. Encouraging creative exploration while staying true to the core principles of Madhubani art will allow it to thrive and evolve in the face of globalization.

By delving into these issues, this paper aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted relationship between Madhubani art and globalization. It aspires to shed light on the opportunities and challenges that this new reality presents, ultimately paving the way for the continued flourishing of this vibrant art form on the international stage.

Research Methodology

Document Analysis: Existing literature forms a crucial foundation for understanding the context. We'll analyze a wide range of resources:

Scholarly Works: Articles and books on Madhubani art will provide historical background, delve into the symbolism and traditional techniques employed, and explore the cultural significance of the art form. Additionally, we'll examine works on cultural heritage and the effects of globalization on traditional art forms in other regions, drawing parallels and insights relevant to Madhubani art.

Government Resources: Reports and policies related to art and handicraft promotion by national and regional authorities will provide insights into government involvement in preserving and promoting Madhubani art. These resources might outline initiatives undertaken, challenges identified, and future goals for the art form.

Exhibition Catalogs and Online Resources: Exhibition catalogs from past and present exhibitions of Madhubani art, both in India and internationally, can offer valuable information on curatorial perspectives, featured artists and themes, and the evolution of the art form within the gallery space. Online resources like artist websites, online galleries featuring Madhubani art, and news articles can provide insights into current trends, marketing strategies, and artist profiles, offering a dynamic snapshot of the contemporary Madhubani art scene.

Data Analysis: Thematic analysis will be the primary tool to identify recurring patterns and themes within the collected data. This will involve meticulously examining interview transcripts, case study findings, and document analysis results. The analysis will explore how globalization has impacted various aspects of Madhubani art, including:

Production: The shift from traditional mud walls to canvases and the influence of new materials on artistic expression and artistic processes.

Themes and Styles: The persistence of traditional narratives alongside the emergence of contemporary themes, and the potential challenges of balancing innovation with the preservation of cultural significance and artistic integrity.

Market Reach and Economic Opportunities: The expansion of Madhubani art's reach to a global audience, the economic benefits this brings for artists, and potential challenges like exploitation by middlemen or the commoditization of the art form.

By employing a multi-pronged approach that combines a thorough analysis of existing literature, this research methodology aims to paint a comprehensive picture of the complex relationship between Madhubani art and globalization.

Impact of Globalization on Madhubani Art Production

Madhubani art, with its vibrant colors and intricate narratives, has transcended the mud walls of Mithila to find a place on the global art scene. This transformation has been significantly influenced by the forces of globalization. Globalization, the interconnectedness of cultures and economies on a global scale, has impacted the production of Madhubani art in several ways, creating a dynamic interplay between tradition and market demands.

Traditionally, Madhubani art was practiced on the earthen walls of homes, primarily by women from the region. These paintings served a multitude of purposes – religious rituals, storytelling, and even documenting daily life.[4] However, globalization has facilitated a shift in the medium of Madhubani art. The increased demand for portable and marketable artworks has spurred a transition from walls to canvases and paper. This shift allows for easier transportation and display of Madhubani art at exhibitions and galleries worldwide (Verma, 2015). Additionally, the availability of new materials like canvas paper and acrylic paints, previously unavailable in rural areas, has further encouraged this change in medium (Sarkar, 2018).

The Indian government has also played a crucial role in promoting Madhubani art's transition to a wider market. Initiatives such as training programs and craft fairs have equipped artists with the necessary skills and platforms to adapt their art form for a global audience

(Verma, 2015). These programs introduce artists to new materials and techniques for creating art on canvases and paper, ensuring the quality and durability of their work for international markets.

However, the rise of globalization has also led to the emergence of middlemen in the production and sale of Madhubani art. While middlemen can provide artists with access to markets beyond their immediate reach, they often take a significant cut of the profits. This can lead to a situation where artists receive only a fraction of the final selling price, raising concerns about fair trade practices in the Madhubani art industry.[5]

The pressure to meet deadlines and cater to specific market demands might lead artists to simplify their styles or introduce elements that cater to a wider audience. This could potentially dilute the intricate details and symbolism that are characteristic of traditional Madhubani art.[6]

The globalization of Madhubani art production presents a complex scenario. While it has facilitated wider recognition and economic opportunities for artists, it also raises concerns about cultural appropriation, exploitation, and the potential loss of traditional techniques. Striking a balance between catering to market demands and preserving the cultural significance of Madhubani art is crucial for its sustainable future. This can be achieved through initiatives that promote fair trade practices, provide training on traditional techniques, and foster a deeper appreciation for the art form's cultural heritage.

Transformation of Themes and Styles

The essence of Madhubani art lies in its rich and vibrant iconography. Traditionally, the themes revolved around Hindu mythology, epics like the Ramayana and Mahabharata, and social rituals associated with daily life.[7] Deities like Krishna, Shiva, Durga, and Saraswati were frequently depicted, often interwoven with scenes from everyday life like weddings, childbirth, and harvesting.[8] These depictions transcended mere decoration; they served as a visual language, transmitting religious beliefs, social norms, and cultural values across generations.

Globalization has not entirely eclipsed these traditional themes. The enduring popularity of mythological narratives ensures that depictions of deities and epic scenes continue to resonate with contemporary audiences. Tourists drawn to Mithila's cultural heritage create a demand for authentic representations of the region's heritage. This fuels the continued production of artwork featuring traditional themes and styles, catering to a growing international interest in Madhubani art's cultural significance.[9]

Embracing Change: The Rise of Contemporary Narratives and Experimentation

However, globalization has also opened doors for the emergence of contemporary narratives within Madhubani art. Artists are increasingly incorporating new themes that reflect the changing times. Environmental concerns, social issues like gender equality, and even current events are finding expression in their work.[10] This shift allows Madhubani art to engage with contemporary issues and broaden its appeal to a global audience with diverse interests. For

instance, artists might depict scenes highlighting the importance of environmental conservation or social justice movements.

Furthermore, globalization has fostered experimentation with styles. The availability of new materials like acrylic paints has enabled artists to explore a wider color palette, potentially adding vibrancy and depth to their work. Artists like Madhavi Devi have experimented with acrylics, creating stunning depictions that retain the essence of Madhubani art while showcasing a captivating color spectrum.[11] Additionally, some artists are incorporating elements from other art forms into their Madhubani paintings, creating a fusion style that reflects the interconnectedness of the global art world.[12] This can be seen in the work of artists like Yash McHale, who blends Madhubani motifs with contemporary portraiture, creating a unique and captivating style.

The Delicate Balancing Act: Tradition vs. Innovation

This exploration of new themes and styles presents a challenge for Madhubani art. While innovation is crucial for its continued relevance in a globalized world, it is equally important to safeguard the cultural significance embedded within traditional narratives and styles. The intricate details, symbolism, and underlying narratives that distinguish Madhubani art from other folk art forms must not be compromised in the pursuit of novelty.[13] For instance, a simplified portrayal of a deity or a complete departure from the characteristic fish-eye perspective could potentially dilute the cultural essence of the art form.

Strategies for Maintaining Cultural Integrity

Several strategies can be implemented to ensure that the transformation of themes and styles in Madhubani art does not lead to a dilution of its cultural identity.

Documentation of Traditional Techniques: Meticulous documentation of traditional techniques, motifs, and narratives is vital for preserving the cultural heritage embedded within Madhubani art. This documentation can include recording narratives associated with specific motifs, filming the traditional painting process, and archiving examples of traditional Madhubani art. These resources can serve as a valuable resource for artists and educators, ensuring the transmission of traditional knowledge to future generations.

Focus on Artist Education: Educational programs that not only equip artists with the skills to navigate the global market but also emphasize the importance of traditional themes and styles are crucial.[14] Workshops focused on traditional techniques, workshops on the symbolism embedded within specific motifs, and educational programs on the cultural significance of Madhubani art can all play a role in empowering artists to make informed choices about their artistic expressions, ensuring a balance between innovation and preservation.

Market Reach and Economic Opportunities

In today's interconnected world, globalization has significantly impacted the reach of businesses and the economic opportunities available to them. Market reach, the ability to

connect with potential customers beyond traditional geographical boundaries, has expanded dramatically. This expansion unlocks a wealth of economic possibilities for businesses of all sizes, from established corporations to local artisans. This paper explores the relationship between market reach and economic opportunities in the age of globalization, highlighting the benefits, challenges, and strategies for success in this dynamic landscape.

Benefits of Increased Market Reach

Globalization fosters a larger potential customer base, allowing businesses to tap into new markets previously inaccessible. International trade agreements, advancements in transportation and communication technologies, and the rise of e-commerce platforms have all contributed to this phenomenon. Businesses can now sell their products and services directly to consumers worldwide, bypassing traditional geographical limitations.[15]

Increased Sales and Revenue: Globalization unlocks significant growth potential for businesses of all sizes. Imagine a small jewelry maker in India. By showcasing their unique designs on a global online marketplace, they can transcend geographical limitations and reach millions of potential customers across the globe.[16] This newfound access to a wider audience can propel the business to new heights, enabling them to scale production, hire additional staff, and expand their product offerings. E-commerce platforms like Etsy or Amazon Handmade can be particularly transformative for artisans and small businesses, allowing them to compete on a global scale without the need for a physical storefront.[17]

Diversification and Risk Reduction: Globalization allows for diversification and risk reduction by enabling businesses to spread their customer base across multiple markets. Imagine a company that manufactures athletic apparel. By relying solely on the domestic market, they are vulnerable to economic downturns that might lead to decreased consumer spending on non-essential items. However, by establishing a presence in markets with healthy economies, the company can mitigate this risk. If a recession hits their domestic market, they can offset potential losses with continued sales in other regions. This geographical diversification acts as a hedge against economic fluctuations, promoting greater stability and long-term growth.[18]

Economies of Scale: Increased production volumes driven by a larger market can lead to economies of scale, allowing businesses to benefit from lower per-unit production costs.[19] There are several factors contributing to this cost reduction. Firstly, businesses can spread fixed costs, such as factory overhead or research and development expenses, over a larger volume of production, reducing the cost per unit.[20] Secondly, increased production volume allows businesses to negotiate bulk discounts with suppliers of raw materials and components. Imagine a company that manufactures bicycles. By reaching a global market and increasing their production volume, they can negotiate significant price reductions with suppliers of steel, tires, and other components.[21] Finally, increased production volume can lead to greater efficiency in manufacturing processes. As businesses scale production to meet global demand, they can invest in automation, optimize production lines, and refine their manufacturing processes, leading to significant cost savings. The lower per-unit production costs achieved through

economies of scale can then allow businesses to offer competitive pricing and further increase sales.

Economic Opportunities for Diverse Stakeholders

The benefits of market reach extend far beyond established businesses. Globalization unlocks a wealth of economic opportunities for a wide range of stakeholders, fostering innovation, entrepreneurship, and economic empowerment across various sectors. Here's a closer look at how different groups can benefit:

Entrepreneurs: The ability to reach a global audience empowers entrepreneurs to showcase their innovative ideas and products on a larger scale. This breaks down geographical barriers, allowing them to tap into a much larger customer base compared to traditional local markets. Globalization fosters innovation by exposing entrepreneurs to diverse consumer preferences and market trends, potentially inspiring new product development and business models. Additionally, access to a wider pool of investors and potential partners can fuel the growth of new ventures.[22]

Artists and Artisans: Traditional artisans and artists can leverage online platforms like Etsy, Amazon Handmade, or social media marketplaces to showcase their unique crafts to a global audience. This bypasses traditional geographical limitations and allows them to connect directly with international customers.[23] Globalization can help revive fading art forms by creating a renewed demand for handcrafted goods and cultural heritage products. Additionally, it can create sustainable livelihoods for cultural practitioners by providing them with access to a wider market and potentially higher profit margins compared to selling locally. Cultural heritage institutions can play a crucial role in supporting artists by providing training in digital marketing and photography, enabling them to effectively present their work online.[24]

Farmers and Small Businesses: Globalization allows small-scale producers, such as farmers, independent coffee roasters, or local food producers, to connect directly with international buyers, potentially bypassing intermediaries who might take a significant cut of their profits. This can lead to fairer prices for producers and empower local communities. Additionally, globalization opens doors for participation in niche markets with a high demand for specific products. For instance, a small farm specializing in organic produce can connect with international buyers seeking high-quality, ethically sourced food products. Furthermore, globalization can contribute to rural development by creating new economic opportunities in agricultural regions.[25]

Women and Marginalized Groups: Globalization can create economic opportunities for women and marginalized groups who might have faced limited access to traditional markets. Online platforms and fair-trade initiatives can empower women entrepreneurs and artisans to showcase their products and gain financial independence.[26] Additionally, globalization can create new employment opportunities in export-oriented industries, potentially benefiting women and marginalized groups who might have limited access to formal employment opportunities in their local economies.[27]

It is important to note that the benefits of globalization for diverse stakeholders are not always equally distributed. Careful policy measures and support structures are needed to

ensure that the most vulnerable populations benefit from increased market reach and avoid exploitation.

Challenges of Expanding Market Reach

While the potential benefits of market reach are significant, there are also challenges to consider:

Competition: Businesses face increased competition from international rivals when entering new markets. Globalization has opened doors for established foreign companies to compete in domestic markets. Additionally, businesses may encounter competition from local players who have a deeper understanding of consumer preferences and cultural nuances (Hill, 2021). To navigate this challenge, businesses need to develop strong brand differentiation strategies. This can involve highlighting unique product features, focusing on brand storytelling that resonates with the target audience, or building a strong brand reputation for quality and customer service. Additionally, developing competitive pricing strategies is crucial. This might involve cost optimization through economies of scale or offering localized pricing that takes into account local purchasing power and competitor pricing. Finally, conducting thorough market research to understand local preferences and competitor analysis is essential for developing effective marketing and product development strategies.

Cultural Differences: Navigating cultural differences can be challenging. Businesses need to adapt their marketing messages, product offerings, customer service strategies to resonate with diverse audiences.[28] Cultural differences can manifest in various ways, including language, communication styles, consumer preferences, and legal systems. Businesses that fail to consider these differences risk alienating potential customers and hindering their market success. For instance, a marketing campaign that uses humor in one culture might be offensive in another. Similarly, product features or packaging that appeal to a domestic audience might not resonate with consumers in a new market. To overcome this challenge, businesses need to invest in cultural sensitivity training for their staff and conduct market research to understand the specific cultural nuances of their target market. Additionally, partnering with local businesses or hiring employees with local market knowledge can provide valuable insights and ensure culturally appropriate marketing strategies.[29]

Logistics and Regulations: Businesses entering new markets need to navigate complex logistics systems, including international shipping and customs regulations. This can be a significant hurdle for small businesses with limited resources. Logistics can involve challenges such as managing international shipping costs, navigating different transportation infrastructure in various countries, and ensuring timely delivery of goods to customers. Additionally, complying with complex customs regulations, including import duties and tariffs, can be a tedious and time-consuming process. To mitigate these challenges, businesses can explore partnering with third-party logistics providers (3PLs) who specialize in international shipping and customs clearance. Utilizing digital tools for tracking shipments and managing customs documentation can also streamline the process. Furthermore, understanding and complying with relevant regulations in the target market, such as product safety standards and labeling requirements, is crucial to avoid delays and potential legal issues.

Strategies for Success in a Globalized Market

Despite the challenges, several strategies can help businesses and individuals leverage the economic opportunities presented by market reach:

Market Research: Conducting thorough market research is crucial for understanding the needs, preferences, and regulations of new markets.[30] Market research can be conducted through various methods, including primary research (surveys, focus groups) and secondary research (industry reports, government data). This research should delve into consumer demographics, purchasing habits, cultural nuances, and competitor analysis in the target market.

Localization: Adapting products, marketing materials, and customer service strategies to resonate with local cultures is essential for success.[31] Localization goes beyond simple language translation. It involves adapting product designs, packaging, and marketing messages to suit local preferences, regulations, and cultural sensitivities. For instance, a clothing brand entering the Japanese market might need to offer smaller sized garments to cater to the average body size in that region.

Building Partnerships: Partnering with local businesses can provide valuable insights into market nuances and navigate logistical complexities.[32] Strategic partnerships can take many forms, such as joint ventures, distributorships, or franchising agreements. Partnering with established local businesses can provide access to distribution channels, marketing networks, and local market expertise.[33]

Leveraging Technology: Utilizing e-commerce platforms, social media marketing, and digital payment solutions can facilitate connections with customers worldwide (Acs et al., 2018). The digital landscape offers a wide range of tools for businesses to reach a global audience. E-commerce platforms like Amazon and Alibaba can provide access to millions of potential customers. Social media marketing allows for targeted advertising campaigns and building brand awareness across borders.[34] Additionally, digital payment solutions like PayPal and Stripe can facilitate secure and convenient transactions for international customers.

Building Cultural Intelligence: Developing cultural intelligence (CQ) is a crucial element for success in a globalized market. CQ refers to an individual's or organization's ability to understand and interact effectively with people from different cultures. By fostering cultural sensitivity within the organization, businesses can better navigate cross-cultural communication, build trust with international partners, and adapt their strategies to diverse markets.[35]

Conclusion

The analysis of Madhubani art revealed both challenges and opportunities. Globalization has facilitated the wider recognition of the art form and brought economic benefits to artists. However, concerns regarding the shift from traditional mud walls to canvases and the potential dilution of cultural significance necessitate careful consideration. Moving forward, fostering strategies that ensure the preservation of Madhubani art's essence while embracing contemporary trends will be crucial. This could involve initiatives such as workshops promoting traditional techniques alongside exploration of new materials. Additionally, supporting artist collectives and fair trade practices can empower artists and ensure they reap the benefits of

globalization. Ultimately, navigating the dynamic relationship between Madhubani art and globalization demands a nuanced approach. By acknowledging the challenges and opportunities, researchers and stakeholders can work together to ensure that this magnificent art form continues to flourish and share its rich cultural heritage with the world.

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THE PLAGUE EPIDEMIC IN MADRAS STATE (1951 – 1965): A STUDY OF PUBLIC HEALTH RESPONSE AND ERADICATION STRATEGIES

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Abstract

The Plague epidemic that struck Madras State between 1951 and 1965 marked a critical period in the region's public health history. This study examines the origins, spread, and eventual containment of the plague during these years. Drawing on historical records, epidemiological data, and government reports, it explores the social, economic, and environmental factors that contributed to the outbreak and persistence of the disease. The study also delves into the various control measures implemented by health authorities, including quarantine protocols, mass vaccination campaigns, rodent control efforts, and public awareness initiatives. By analyzing the effectiveness of these strategies, the study highlights the challenges faced by public health officials and the eventual success in eradicating the plague from the region. Following consistent monitoring and endeavors, the State has effectively eradicated the disease. This research not only provides insights into the epidemiological trends of the time but also underscores the importance of a coordinated and multi-faceted approach in managing public health crises.

Key words: Plague, Madras, Dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane, Yersinia pestis, Cynogas fumigation

Introduction

Plague is one of the oldest diseases known to man andtime. It is primarily a zoonotic disease that exists in nature between small mammals, usually wild rodents, and the fleas that they harbour. Plague is endemic in many parts of the World and exists in many small natural foci. It is widely distributed in the tropics and in warmer areas of temperate countries. The causative bacteria, Yersinia pestis can also infect humans. It is transmitted between animals and humans by the bite of infected fleas, direct contact, inhalation and rarely, ingestion of infective materials. Untreated plague can be a very serious disease with case fatality rates between 30% and 60%. Recent outbreaks have shown that plague may recur in areas that have long remained silent[1].

Epidemiology

The disease persists in the districts of the Madras State bordering Mysore and Hyderabad states in a comparatively mild form and the areas which have reported repeated infection in this state are Harpanahalli, Hagagalli, and Kudligi taluk of Bellary districts, Hindupur taluk of Anantapur district, Madanapalle, Punganur, and Juppam taluks of Chittoor district,

Hosur taluk of Salem district, Kollegal, and Satyamanaglam taluks of Coimbatore district and the Nilgiris district. Epidemics generally from these foci spreas to other areas[2]. Stray cases were reported from the districts of Salem and Chittoor, South Arcot and Tiruchirappalli, but the majority of cases occurred in Bellary Municipality and Bellary district. The districts of Nilgiris, Coimbatore and Anatapur and the rest of the State were entirely free from Plague[3].

Outbreak of plague in Tiruchirappalli district – During the first quarter of the 1951, plague occurred suddenly (7 attacks and 6 deaths) in Pasumbalur village of Perambalur taluk of Tiruchirappalli district. Being a "non-endemic" area, the occurrence of the first six cases was missed and it took some time before the actual situation was realized. The source of infection could not be traced, there being no infection in any of the neighbouring endemic areas at that time. The infection was brought quickly under control by the use of Dichloro-.Diphenyl-Trichloroethane (D.D.T.) and further cases did not occur[4].

Plague in Salem district – Plague occurred off and on during the year in some village or other in the Hosur taluk of Salem district. 18 attacks and 10 deaths occurred in 8 village units during the period, of which 7 village units had not been previously treated with DDT. Only one attack occurred in one village which received DDT treatment 6 months previously. During the inspection of anti-plague work in Hosur taluk, it was found that inadequate quantity of 10 per cent DDT dust was being used for insufflation of rat harbourages. It is likely that occurrence of plague in the DDT treated village above, may be due to the inadequate dosage of DDT used. The work has improved in quality since then, and plague has not occurred in any of the other DDT treated villages in the districts[5].

Plague in the Nilgiri district – DDT treatment had been carried out once a year during the previous two years continuously in all the plague endemic villages of the district as a part of the plague eradication programme and district was free from October 1950 to January 1952. Suddenly plague broke out towards the end of January 1952, in a small hamlet in Coonoor taluk of the Nilgiris district. This hamlet consisted of a group of 7 huts occupied by an Adi – Dravida Community. All the villages round about this colony, were treated with DDT, once a year since 1950, but the existence of this small colony was not detected, as it was in a small tea estate under cover of hills all round. This small colony therefore escaped DDT treatment altogether till the outbreak of plague causing 5 attacks and 2 deaths. The occurrence of rat falls was not taken notice of, as it was thought that the rats, died as a result of poisoned rat baits. Several dead rats were recovered from the roofs of these huts while doing anti-plague work. Fresh cases did not occur after DDT treatment was commenced and completed in the hamlet. Plague did not occur in any of the other villages in the district treated with DDT previously. The plague eradication scheme in the Nilgiris district was continued during the year. The headquarters of the Special Plague Officer was moved from Coonoor to Madras and the field staff was allocated for work under the District Health Officer, the Nilgiris, and the Municipal Health Officers of Ootacamund and Coonoor. The two municipal towns and about 600 villages units in the endemic areas of the district were treated with DDT once during the year and for the third time during the last three years[6].

Control measures in Madras State

The bulk of the plague cases were admitted into the local head-quarters hospital and treated with Sterptomycin with excellent results, the mortality being very low and occuring only in cases which had been admitted into the hospital in a moribund state. In 1951, Cynogas fumigation as a method of plague control was replaced in the state by D.D.T. as a result if the experience gained the previous years of experiments and study in the field in the Nilgiris. The changeover has led to economy in additon to more effective plague control[7].

D.D.T. treatment instead of insufflation of Cynogas. A dust as adopted as an anti-plague measure since 1952. All the houses of the endemic areas rural and municipal were treated with ½ percent D.D.T. suspension once in the year. All rat harbourages were insufflated with 10 percent D.D.T. powder D.D.T. treatment and inoculation were carried out in all the infected and neighbouring villages as preventive measures. It is hoped that the disease will be eradicated in the near future by continuing intensively the anti-plague measures[8]. Effective measures were taken in the affected areas as well as in the surrounding areas[9]. All houses and cattle sheds in the village were throughly sprayed with D.D.T. suspension and all the rat harbourages were treated with 10 per cent D.D.T. dust. Almost all the people in the affected village were inoculated against plague and the infection was prevent from spreading. Subsequently, D.D.T. was sprayed in all the villages within a radius of five miles of the affected villages and the people of those villages were also incoculated against plague a precaustionary mesure[10]. The programme of 'off season' anti-plague measures was carried out in all plague endemic areas of the state. All the towns and villages in endemic areas were treated with DDT regularly once a year. Flea surveys have shown that the generel flea index is very low in DDT treated villages. Block fumigation of the grain stores, shops and godowns was carried out with Cynogas 'A' dust regularly, once in six months in Ootacamund, Coonoor and Coimbatore towns. Regular rat trapping was done in all endemic towns and villages periodically for rat flea survey and as anti-rat measure and for detecting any evidence of smoundering plague in the rat population. In view of the absence of plague for some years in Coimbatore district, the plague preventive work in the municipalities of Pollachi, Udumalapet, and Tiruppur was discontinued with effect from 1st October 1958 and the staff disbanded[11]. Forty-two thousand two hundred and thirty-five anti-plague inoculations were conducted in the infested and surrounding villages in Hosur taluk and all the houses were treated with D.D.T. The other districts in the State were completely free from the disease[12]. All the houses in the infected and surrounding villages were subjected to spraying with the suspension of 2 ½ per cent BHC water wettable powders. This was followed up by the fumigation and insufflation of rat burrows and rat runs with cyanogas 'A' dust and 10 per cent BHC dust[13]. Necessary staffs were posted to carry out systematic anti-plague work throughout the year. By way of abundant precaution, anticipatory anti-plague inoculations were arranged in the areas of Ootacamund, Coonoor, Thiruvannamalai and few other areas[14].

Plague Eradication Scheme, Nilgiris district

Plague eradication scheme in the Nilgiris district was continued during the year with a reduced staff. The district was entirely free from plague during the year for the first time in

its plague history. Ootcamund and Coonoor towns and nearly 600 village units in the endemic areas of the district were treated with D.D.T. once during the year, and for the second time during the last two years. Monthly rat flea surveys showed that while the general flea indices in untreated villages were as high as 3 to 4 the indices in the treated villages were comparatively low below 1[15].

Use of D.D.T. for Plague control

During the year, Cyanogas fumigation as a method of plague control in the state was entirely replaced by D.D.T. as a result if the experience gained during the previous years of experiments and study in the field in the Nilgiris district. The experimental findings which led to the use of D.D.T. in place of cyanogas are summarized as follows:-

1.   D.D.T. is an efficient pulicide. A single application of 10 per cent D.D.T. insufflation in rat burrows and other rat harbourges is generally sufficient to keep the flea index below 1 for over 16 months. During the same period 3 to 4 applications of cyanogas are necessary for the same place, and even then the reduction in the general flea index is not marked or sustained. Consequently the cost of D.D.T. application is only about a third of that of cyanogas fumigation.

2.   D.D.T. retains its potency under the field conditions in the rat burrows for a period of 18 months.

3.   While plague occurred in 45 out of 468 village units regularly fumigated with cyanogas with once every 3 to 4 months in 1948, all the 90 village units in a highly endemic zone in the Nilgiris treated with D.D.T. only once, escaped infection for over 16 months.

4.   In village where human cases had occurred before D.D.T. treatment, no case occurred a week after operations with D.D.T. were started. In villages where D.D.T. treatment was carried out immediately after rat falls, human cases did not occur. No rat falls or human cases did not occurred in threatened villages after D.D.T. operations.

5.   Rat control is not necessary for immediately plague control.

In view of the experience gained in the use of D.D.T. in the control of plague incidence, it was decided to change over from the previous method of plague control with cyanogas fumigation to the use of D.D.T. Accordingly detailed departmental instructions were issued to the public health staff for the use of D.D.T. both in the epidemic and non-epidemic periods. It has been the practice hitherto to employ a large staff in the districts and municipalities bordering Mysore State for taking "Off Season" measures by the use of cyanogas. After a study of plague incidence in the state during the last 50 years, areas and villages which recorded repeated infection during the last 10 years were tentatively selected for intensive "Off Season" DDT treatment. The object is to reduce the prevailing rat-flea indices to the minimum with D.D.T. treatment during the Off-season for plague and thus prevent any incidence of plague during the customary season – the cold months. With this end in view – plague preventive staff of Health Inspectors with the necessary D.D.T. treatment units, have been sanctioned in September 1951 and posted for work in the areas mentioned above[16].

Training of public Health staff

  The Special Plague Officer made a tour of all "endemic district" in the State and gave a course of lectures and demonstrations to the Public Health Staff in the use of D.D.T. for control of plague. The Special Plague Officer also gave a course of training to the Entomologists of the Regional Malaria Organizations of Coimbatore and Bellary for undertaking rat flea survey work in their respective areas.

  Towards the close of the year Government sanctioned the proposals of the Director of Public Health to move the headquarters of the Special Plague Officer from Coonoor to Madras to co-ordinate the work of the plague staff in the endemic districts and to train up the field and other staff in the proper technique and other details regarding the use of D.D.T. for control of plague. The field staff working under him in the Nilgiris districts was allocated for work under District Health Officer, the Nilgiris and the Municipal Health Officers, Coonoor and Ootacamund.

  Jointly with the Director of Public Health, Mysore, the Director of Public Health, Madras, toured in May and June 1951 the border villages of the Mysore and Madras States recording repeated plague incidence in the past, and he subsequently met the Director of Public Health, Mysore, in conference in June 1951 and discussed the reciprocal measures and arrangements, based on the use of D.D.T. treatment for the control and eradicate plague from the states. The measures suggested at this joint conference are now under further acrutiny, before they are finalized for adoption[17].

  The endemic villages, all the houses were completely sprayed with 2 ½ per cent DDT suspension and all rat harbourages were insufflated with 10 per cent DDT dust as soon as plague infection was reported. More than 90 percent of the populations of the villages were inoculated with plague vaccine. No fresh cases of human or rodent plague were reported from these villages, after the DDT treatment. Rat flea surveys immediately after the treatment showed completed absence of fleas in the rat collected. All the villages within five miles of the infected villages were also treated with DDT as a precautionary measure. A second round of DDT treatment will be done in the infected villages again after six months as a measure of abundant caution.

Plague control measures in the State

  Anti-plague measures by the use of DDT treatment are being carried out as an 'off season' measure on an intensive scale in all the plague endemic areas of the State since 1952. All the villages are given one round of DDT treatment at least once a year regularly. Twenty one Health Inspectors and 67 DDT treatment units are working throughout the year carrying out anti-plague measures in the endemic areas of the Nilgiris district, Hosur taluk of Salem district, Kollegal and Satyamangalam taluks of Coimbatore district and in the municipalities of Ootacamund, Coonoor, Coimbatore, Pollachi, Tiruppur and Udumalpet. The staffs are working directly under the control of the Health Officers concerned, but the Special Plague Officer periodically visits all these areas and supervises the anti-plague measures and gives proper training to the field staff. Rat falls surveys are regularly carried out in these endemic areas

under control to assess the results of the control programme. It has been found that in the areas under control, the general files index even after one year of DDT treatment is one or less, which is considered too low for possible outbreak of plague in these controlled areas. The districts of Coimbatore and Nilgiris, where plague was occurring regularly for the past several years, have been free from plague continuously for the past three years[18].

Plague incidence in Madras State 1951- 1965

In the year 1951, 139 attacks and 62 deaths from plague as compared to 173 attacks and 38 deaths in 1950 and 453 attacks and 150 deaths in 1949[19]. Out of the 23 attacks and 12 deaths due to this disease in 1953, 18 attacks and 10 deaths occurred in the Hosur taluk of Slame district, distributed in all the 4 quarters of this year and 5 attacks and 2 deaths in the rural parts of Nilgiris, in the first quarter only[20]. There were only 9 attacks and 6 deaths from plague during 1953, these cases occurred in a village in Hosur taluk in Salem district in September and December 1953. This incidence was the lowest on record[21]. During the year 1954, there were 8 attacks and 6 deaths from plague in the state, all of which occurred in 4 villages in Hosur taluk, Salem district. The other districts were free from human plague[22]. The year 1955 only two cases of plague in Hosur taluk were reported in the state[23]. The whole state was free from plague for a period of nearly 22 months since February 1956. There were only four attacks and one death from Plague in December 1957 in one village in Denkanicottai division, Hosur taluk, and Salem district[24]. The state was completely free from plague from February 1958 to December 1958. In January and February 1959 14 attacks and seven deaths from plague in three villages in Denkanikottah division, Hosur taluk, and Salem district only were reported. Three cases without any death occurred in July and August 1959[25]. In 1960, seven villages in Hosur taluk in Salem district were affected with Plague and there were 29 attacks and 14 deaths[26]. Ten villages in Hosur taluk, Salem district, reported 21 attacks and 8 deaths from plague in 1961, January and from July to September[27]. A total of 100 attacks resulting in 20 deaths were reported from Hosur taluk in Salem district. Three attacks with no deaths from plague were reported from one village in Gobichettipalayam taluk, Coimbatore district. Other areas were free from plague[28]. In 1963, 26 attacks and 6 deaths from plague were reported from Salem district. The other districts were completely free from plague[29]. During the year 1964, 46 attacks with one death were reported from Salem district[30]. There has been no incidence of either rat falls or human cases of plague in Madras state during 1965. Due to the bifurcation of Salem district into Salem and Dharmapuri districts, the Plague staff located in the composite district of Salem has been shifted to Dharmapuri district[31].

(209)
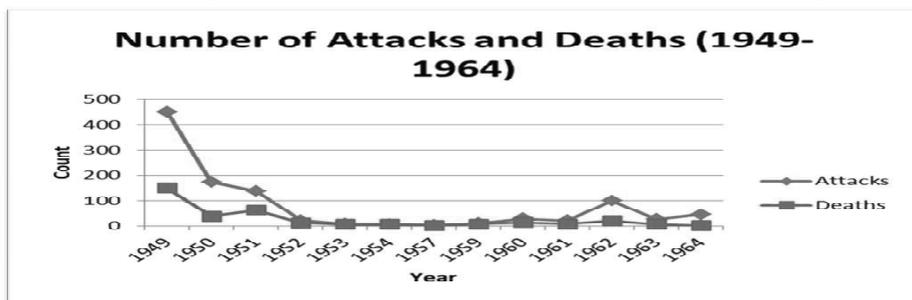
Conclusion

The successful eradication of the plague in Madras state by 1965 stands as a testament to the efficacy of comprehensive public health strategies and coordinated governmental action. The outbreak, driven by a combination of environmental and social factors, posed significant challenges to the region's health infrastructure. However, through persistent efforts in surveillance, vaccination, vector control, and public education, the authorities managed to bring the epidemic under control. The lessons learned from this period have had a lasting impact on public health polices in India, particularly in the areas of disease prevention and outbreak management. This historical case study serves as a reminder of the critical importance of preparedness, timely intervention, and community engagement in the fight against infectious diseases. The success in Madras state offers valuable insights that continue to inform modern public health practices and highlight the enduring relevance of these strategies in combating emerging infectious diseases.

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FLORAL VARIETY OF EARLY BENGAL: GLEANING FROM THE LITERATURE (C. 5TH CENTURY CE -13TH CENTURY CE)

Saradindu Sahu

Abstract

Bengal is the only region of India which stretches from the Himalaya in north to the Bay of Bengal in south. Therefore, this distinct kind of boundary helps to shape a unique kind of bio-diversity in Bengal endowed with flora and fauna ranging from the coastal forest of Sundarban to the forests of the Himalayan foothills. From a phytogeographic viewpoint, the floras of Bengal have the combined characteristics of the Himalayan, sub- Himalayan and Gangetic plain. This distinct type of flora and fauna are also reflected in the literary sources of early Bengal. Here I have presented a holistic picture about the familiar floral variety of Bengal collected from the literature and the environmental effects on the food-habits of the people of early Bengal (c. 5th century CE- 13th century CE).

Key words : Bengal, Environment, Flora, Literature

Literature is the mirror of society. Literature reveals the author's intention which is actually controlled by the socio-economic and politico-cultural context in which the author is located. It is the duty of historians to take every precaution to check the authenticity of the information of the text and disclose the inner meaning of the text such as author's intention to write such a text, the social context in which the author is situated. Therefore, literature is the storehouse of sources which careful study will lead us to understand contemporary society. Here the present study attempts to understand the floral variety of early Bengal based on the literature (c. 5th century CE- 13th century CE).

Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Sukumar Sen, D. C. Sen, Niharranjan Ray and other scholars have vividly portrayed the development of Bengali language and Bengali literature. Bengal was never a strong zone of Vedic Aryans and therefore it remains beyond the influence of Vedas, Upanisòads, Dharmaúâstras for a long period of time. But from 6- 7th century CE onwards, Bengal became one of the important centers for learning of Buddhist and Sanskrit texts which is revealed from the writings of Xuan-Zang, Fa-hien, I-tsing and other Buddhist scholars who have visited the monasteries of Bengal for learning. From 7-8th century, a distinct genre of poetry writing style, named as '*Gaudòi riti*' emerged in Bengal which is different from the style of '*Vaidarvî*' which was generally used for writing *Kâvya* in north India. Besides this Sanskrit style, middle Indo-Aryan language gradually transformed into *ApabhramòsAa* dialect between the 6th to the 13th century. Here we will deal with the texts such as *Caryâpadas*, written in Mâgadhi *Apabhramòœa* or *Avahatòtòa* as well as *Kâvyas* such as Sandhyakara Nandin's *Ramacarita*, *Subhasòitaratnakosa* of Vidyakara and the

Saduktikarnòamrta of Sridharadasa, medical texts such as Cakrapânòidatta's *Cikitsasamgraha* and the *purânòas* like the *B[haddharmapurâGa,* the *Brahmavaivartapurana* etc.

Floral variety of early Bengal:- The soil fertility which is enriched by the rivers of Bengal and the congenial seasonal climate helps in the growth of seasonal crops, plants, flowers, vegetables, fruits etc in this region. From the ancient past, the relationship between the human society and the world of plants is inherent. In the Vedic age, the householder after completing *Gâharstha jîvan* went to the *Vanòaprastha* to spend life in isolation, away from the material world, amidst floral environs. In the Vedic age plants especially flowers, various types of grasses, grains, soma plants are related to the sacrificial ritual and mostly dedicated to the God. But from the early historic time onwards, with the rise of cities and urban culture, the reference of artificial and decorated 'gardens' became prominent in the literature and epigraphic sources.[1] These pleasure gardens have different features from the gardens with productive use. These pleasure gardens gradually turned into a symbol of elitism of Nâgaraka class and here both men and women enjoyed different games, drank liquor, celebrated Vasantotsava and change of the season, enjoyed sexual pleasure and these gardens are decorated with new types of plants and flowers rather than the sacrificial grasses, trees and grains of Vedic era. Thus according to Daud Ali, these pleasure gardens are actually a type of utopia that really exists in society which "Michel Foucault called 'heterotopias'—real places which both operationalized and articulated collective and individual desires."[2]

Therefore, it is clear that the courtly and urbane culture from the Gupta time onwards gives rise to the pleasure gardens which became a common feature of the Nâgaraka house, the king's palace complex, as well as the individual houses of pre-eminent courtesans. The region of Bengal was not exceptional. The early reference of a sacred garden is clear from the Jagadishpur (Rajshahi) Copper Plate inscription of the Gupta Year 128 (C. 447 CE) or from the inscription of 10th century CE Paschimbhâg Copper Plate of Úrîchandra. Apart from the epigraphical evidences, the literary sources also contain details about the garden and various types of flora.

Courtly literature

Sandhyakara Nandin's *Ramacarita* is one of the literary sources which give us details on the flora, fauna, gardens, bio-diversity and water-reservation system in the Varendri region during the Pâla ruler Ramapala (1072-1126 C.E). It gives an eyewitness account about the Kaivarta revolt during the reign of Mahipala II. This book is written in Arya metre and the style is called *Œlesòa* (double *en tender*) which produce two different meaning simultaneously, one about Raghupati Rama and the second about Gaudòa monarch Ramapala.[3]

Sandhyakara Nandin gives elaborate description of the environment and bio-diversity of Varendri region in the third canto of *Ramacarita.* According to the poet, Varendri is the holy place with the glorious streams of Ganga and Karatoya flowing on either side. This is the place from which the rivers Balabhi and Kali originated.[4] After recapturing Varendra region, Ramapala tried to establish well- governed administration and built the city of Ramavati which

rivaled Amaravati in terms of beauty. The city is well decorated with gardens, lofty temples of Gods and palaces with plenty of gold, diamonds, lapis lazuli, pearls, emeralds, rubies and sapphires which made Ramavati appear like the peak of Meru. It indicates that under the leadership of Ramapala, courtly culture has been established in the new-built Ramavati city.

According to the poet, the varendri region was surrounded by many well-known trees and Aœoka (*Saraca asoca*) groves.[5] This region also possessed excellent gardens, entrance of which was resonant with ceaseless warbling of cuckoos and contained edible *Kanda* roots, large number of *Lakuca* (*madar* or *dòehua* in Bengali; *Artocarpus lacucha/ Artocarpus lakoocha Roxb*), *Œrifala* (*Bel* in Bengali; *Aegle marmelos*) or wood-apple tree, *Lavalî* (*Cicca disticha*) which produce kind of a delicious fruit and *Panasa (Artocarpus hetrophyllus)* or jackfruit trees etc.[6] Xuan-zang also noticed the abundance of *Panasa* in Punòdòravardhana. According to him, "the fruit is large as pumpkin and when it is ripe; it is of a yellowish red colour. When divided, it has in the middle many tens of little fruits of the size of a pigeon's egg; breaking these, there comes forth a juice of a yellowish-red colour and of delicious flavor".[7] Therefore, the rich alluvium land of Varendri contains various types of flowers and trees.

These gardens contain plenty of *Nagaranga* (*Citrus reticulate/ Citrus medica*; type of lemon tree especially orange).[8] These pleasure gardens are the meeting place of all kinds of people including the sybarite, gay voluptuaries and the wise men endowed with good virtues.[9] The gardens also contain *Amròta* (or *Amalaki* trees; *Phyllanthus emblica*), *Karunòa* trees, a kind of lemon tree (*Citrus decumana*) and the *priyala* (*Draksòalata* or grapes; *Vitis Vinifera*) plants which enclosed water in the gardens.[10] Therefore, these gardens in the heartland of Varendri become the most attractive place for the nagaraka class.

Apart from these pleasure gardens, Varendri is also famous for various kinds of paddy plants. The poet has also noticed fine quality of bamboo clumps which spread over the land. Another reason behind the glory of this region is the sugarcane (*Saccharum officinarum*) plants.[11] Varendrî is also known as Punòdòravardhana. According to Niharranjan Ray, this region was inhabited by the people of Punòdòra tribe.[12] This tribe may be efficient in the cultivation of sugarcane and therefore, another synonym of sugarcane is *Pudòa* and a specimen of native sugarcane is known as *Pudòi*. The region of Gaudòa is also an integral part of Varendrî which suggest that phonetically the term derives from the name *Gudòa* (jaggery).[13] The cultivation of sugarcane and the making of jaggery in this region are also well-known from *Subhâcitaratnakoca* and *Saduktikarnòamròta*. Verse 316 of *Subhâcitaratnakoca* describes about use of hand-turned machine for crushing the sugarcane juice. The reference about making of jaggery in the winter season is also well known from these two texts.

Ramacarita also has reference about the cultivation of *elâ* (cardamom/ *Elettaria cardamomum*) plants. Moreover, the abundance of *priyângu* creepers (*Aglaia elaeagnoidea*) in this region is also noticeable.[14] From the accounts of Periplus and Ptolemy, we know that India including Bangladesh was one of the best sources for spice such as cardamom, clove etc which were exported in large number to Middle East, Egypt and countries of Europe.[15] Apart from these plants, there are references about gardens decorated with *sudha, aœana*

and *guvaka* (*Areca catechu*) trees. *Sudha* or *Snuhi* trees (type of cactus/ *Opuntia ficus indica*) are familiar in Bengal as *Fanòimanas*a which are generally worshipped as representative of devi Manasa. *Aœana* (*Terminalia tomentos*), a type of Œala tree are also famous in this region. *Pan* (betel leaf/ *Piper betle*) and *guvaka* (areca nut) are the common chewable plants appear in the texts and inscriptions. The evidence of *narikela* (coconut/ *Cocos nucifera*) in Varendrî region is also clear from this text where the poet describes the inhabitants of this region as the people who were always with juicy mouth (*narikelabasinyesòeti jagati sadramukham*).[16]

About the flowers of Varendrî, the poet describes that this elevated land is overwhelmed with excellent flowers, namely, large *Malati* (*Combretum indicum*), fine *nagakeœara* (*Ochrocarpus longifolius*), and the finest *Kesara* (*Vakula/ Mimusops elengi*). These flowers are familiar in Bengal. The fragrance of *Aúoka, Parîjata* (*Erythrina variegate*) tree and *lavanga* (clove/ *Syzygium aromaticum*) trees are strewn all over the land.[17] The numbers of *Madhuka* (mango/ *Mangifera indica*) trees are uncountable.[18] *Kanaka* (Campaka flower/ *Artabotrys hexapetalus*) and *Ketaki* (*Pandanus tectorius*) flowers enhanced the beauty of this region. Cool breeze with the fragrant of red and blue lotus blow over the land.[19]

References about large number of ponds and tanks in this region from the text are also ascertained and these ponds are mainly watered by the sufficient rainfall.[20] Another verse describes that Râmapâla constructed large lakes for public utility with tall palm trees (*Borassus flabellifer*) and lines of hillocks on their border which gives a look like veritable seas.[21] The king imposed mild taxation and brought lands under cultivation which made Varendrî prosperous and all the massacre and arson caused by the enemies (i.e. the kaivarta rulers) was removed at once.[22] Thus *Râmacarita* provides us elaborate descriptions about contemporary flora and pleasure gardens of Varendrî region.

References about pleasure gardens are also clear from Dhoyî's *Pavanaduta*. From the text, we know that young damsel loved to sway to and fro seated on swings in the garden (*dolâhò kelivyasanarasikahò sundarînam samuhahò*) of Vijayapura which was the capital of Laksòmanòasena. The houses and gardens are decorated with various kinds of precious stones like moonstones, diamonds, conch shell etc. In night, the water drops from the moonstones watered the betel nut plants. A beautiful lake where the *Râjahamsa* played, looked like made of sapphires. The poet also writes that young women of early Bengal spent their leisure time with gardening and watering betel nut (*kramuka*) and other trees and plants.[23]

The people of eastern India especially Bengal, Assam and Odisha which have relatively warm and temperate climate prefer boiled rice over wheat. Various types of paddies seem to have been cultivated by the people of Bengal and their references often found in the texts.

The verses of *Saduktikarnòâmròta*[24] and *Subhâsòitaratnakosòa*[25], compiled between 10- 12th century CE refer about cultivation of paddy in the different seasons. *Kròsòi-Parâúara* gives us elaborate descriptions about the methods and technology of paddy cultivation. A Bengal *Smròti* writer Aniruddha Bhatòtòa who is probably the spiritual preceptor of king Vallâlasena in his work *Hâralatâ* in 12th century CE informs us that the term '*Úâli*' refers to the paddy which ripened during later autumn (hemanta) and '*Vrîhi*' refers to the paddy which

ripened in early autumn (úaratkâla).[26] A 14th century text *Prâkròta Paingala* also mentioned that the common food of the people was rice and ghee. Thus the famous verse of the text speaks-

Ogrâ bhattâ rambhaa-pattâ gâika ghittâ dughdha-sajuttâ moili macchâ nâlita gachchhâ dijjai kântâ khâi punavantâ.[27]—The verse depicts that the fortunate husband consumed food prepared by his wife of warm boiled rice with boiled juice or gruel on a cleanly washed leaf of plantain tree, clarified butter or *ghee*, cooked *moili* or *mauralâ mâcha* (*Amblypharyngodon mola*) and leaves of *nâlita* or *patòtòa úâka* (*Corchorus olitorius*). This is an excellent depiction of middle-class household scene of a Bengali family.

Hâralatâ also mentioned the name of other food grains like barely (*yava/ Hordeum vulgare*), wheat (*godhuma*), the green grain (*mudga/ Vigna radiata*), a special kind of kidney bean (*mâsòa/ Vigna mungo*) etc.[28] Verse 2.167.1 and 2.168.5 of *Saduktikarnòamròta* gives us details about beautiful catkin or kans grass (*Saccharum spontaneum*) which are visible during autumn season. Verse 321 of *Subhâcitaratnakoca* and *Saduktikarnòâmròta* 2.177.1 sincerely describes about the seasonal vegetables of the winter season—the bean field, ripened barely (*Yava*), a field of lentil (*Lens culinaris*) of grey colour (*Masuradhusarabhuva*), flowers of *Yamani* or bishop's weed (*Trachyspermum ammi*), flowers of fennel (*Œatapusòpa/ Foeniculum vulgare*), the green colour *Vastuka* or bete œak (*Chenopodium murale*) which are common cresses of winter season in Bengal. The coriander leaves or *Kustumbini* (*Coriandrum sativum*) are growing in cluster and these are popular vegetables of winter season. The information about jujubes (*kolifala*) is also found from the verse no 322. The jasmine (*Kunda/ Jasminum multiflorum*), the *palâúa* flower or *Butea frondosa* (*KimòsAuka*) and the *Aœoka* flowers are the common flowers during spring season.

We have already mentioned the *Pân* (betel leaf) and *guvâka* (betel nut) in Varendrî region from *Râmacarita*. *Pavanaduta* also refer about *nâgavallî* or snake like betel creepers cultivated in Yayâtinagara which is near southern Bengal.[29] The abundance of *Panasa* in the Bengal is noticed by Xuan-zang and Sandhyâkara Nandi. A verse of Umâpatidhara in *Saduktikarnòâmròta* condemns the *panasa* or jack-fruit trees as unhealthy fruit. The bulky size, sweet smell and delicious taste of ripe jack-fruits generally offer a sumptuous feast to a hungry person. But in the long run it may be harmful for the health as these fruits are not easily digested.[30] Apart from these trees, *Candana* or sandal trees, *Aœvattha* or sacred fig, mango trees, *Aœoka* trees, *Úâlmali* or silk cotton, *Nîmba* trees, *Nyagrodha* or banyan trees are commonly appeared in the verses of *Saduktikarnòâmròta*.

Medical treatises

Cakrapâni Datta's *Cikitsâ- Samgraha* gives us details about various types of potherbs which have medical usage. It is an arduous job to include all the name of plants, vegetables, creepers described in the *Cikitsâ- Samgraha* in a single section. The common plants which known for their medical qualities are cooked leaves of *Patòola* (*Trichosanthes dioica*) creepers

which are used for biliary disease (Rakta-pitta), *Vârttâku* (*Solanum melongena*) which commonly known in Bengal as *beguna*, *mulaka* or radish (*Raphanus sativus*), *Karavellâ* or *Karalâ* (*Momordica charantia*)in Bengali, *Kârkotòaka* or *Kâkrole* (*Momordica dioica*)in Bengali, *Gojihvâ* (*Onosma bracteatum*) which is an edible potherb and the boiled juice of pulses like *mudga* or *mâsòkalâi* (black gram), *masura* or lentil, *canòaka* or gram/ chick pea (*Cicer arietinum*), *kulattha* (*Dolichos biflorous*) and so on. The author has also mentioned the nutrition value of the fruits such as *Kadalî* or banana, *Tâla* or Palmyra fruit, *Nârikela* or coconut, *Panasa* or jackfruit, *Œròngâtaka* or water caltrop etc. Apart from these, the common ayurvedic herbs are also prescribed like *Haridrâ* or turmeric(*Curcuma longa*), *œigru* or drumstick tree (*Moringa pterygosperma*), *nimba* or Nim tree, *Mâtulunga* (*Citrus medica*), *Drâksòâ* or grapes, *Dhâtrî* or amla (*Emblic myrobalan*) which are always noted for medical qualities. The names of some other trees like *Dhâmargava* or bitter luffa (*Luffa acutangula*), *Kusòmânòdòa* or pumpkin (*Benincasa hispida*), *Œunòtòhî* or dry ginger (*Zingiber officinale*), *Udumbara* or fig tree, *Arjuna* tree etc. Ancient Bengal is also well known for various kinds of spices like *Pippali* or long pepper(*Piper longum*), *Marica* or black pepper (*Piper nigrum*), *Khadira* or catechu (*Senegalia catechu*), *Jirâka* or cumin seeds (*Cuminum cyminum*), *Jâtiphala* or nutmeg (*Myristica beddome*), *Ajamodâ* or 'rândhunî' in Bengali (*Trachyspermum roxburghianum*) etc.

The author also mentions the name of several kinds of paddies like *Rakta-úâli, Sòasòtòika, Nîvâra* and *Úyâmâ*. According to Chakravarty, *Nîvâra* (*Panicum italicum*) is known as 'Udòi-dhânya' in Bengal and it denotes a wild variety of paddy. *Sòasòtòika* is a class of paddy which ripened in the course of six days.[31] Among the other potherbs and vegetables *Cikitsâ- Samgraha* gives us information about *Sunisòanònòaka* or 'œuœuni' in Bengali (*Marsilea quadrifolia*), *Cângeri* or 'Amarula' in Bengali (*Oxalis corniculata*), *Kalambî* or 'Kalami Saka' in Bengali (*Ipomoea aquatica*), *Hilamocikâ* or Heleñcâ in Bengali (*Enhydra Hingcha*), *Trapusòa* or cucumber (*Cucumis sativus*), *Bhallâtaka* (*Semecarpus anacardium*) which is an ayurvedic plant, *Kapittha* or Kayet Bela in Bengali (*Limonia acidissima*) etc.

The *Purânòic* texts

The *Upapurânòas,* composed in the Bengal region are one of the major sources for understanding the types of flora and fauna prevail in early Bengal. For instance, the *Bròhaddharma Purânòa* which was composed latter half of the thirteenth century gives us details about various kinds of flowers and fruits seen by Úiva and Parvatî when they wandered in the woodland of Kailâsa. Among the flowers- *Mâlati (Aganosma dichotoma), Mallikâ (Jasminum sambac), Yuthikâ* or jasmine (*Jasminum auriculatum), Tagara* or fool-foot flower (*Valeriana jatamansi), Kunda (Jasminum multiflorum), Mandâra* or Indian coral flower (*Erythrina variegate), Œephalika* or *Œiuli* in Bengali (*Nyctanthes arbortristis) , Kutaja (Holarrhena pubescences), Dhustara (Datura metel), Campaka (Michelia Champaca), Bakula (Mimusops elengi), Úirîsòa (Albizia lebbeck), Navamâlika (Jasminum arborescenes), Mucakunda (Pterospermum acerifolium)* and *Vandhuka (Pentapetes phoenicea)* flowers have been mentioned.[32] Among the trees Œiva observed- *Kadamba* or

burflower tree (*Neolamarckia cadamba*), *Panasa or Jackfruit, Âmra or mango, Âmrataka* or âmdòâ in Bengali (*Sponidas pinnata*), *Aævattha* or sacred fig, *Bata* or banyan tree, *Nimba, Úimúapâ* or Œiœu tree in Bengal (*Dalbergia Sissoo Roxb*), *candana* or sandal, *langali* (*Gloriosa superb*), *Tâla* or palmyra, *Hintâla* (*Cycas circinalis*), *Guvâka* or areca tree, *Vetra* (*Calamus tenuis Roxb.*), *Vamsa, Kharjura* or date palm tree (*Phoenix dactylifera*), *Vetasa* (*Calamus tenuis Roxb.*), *Úâla, Piyâla* or chironji tree (*Buchanania cochinchinensis*), *Nameru* (*Elaeocarpus Ganitrus*), *Kobidâr* (*Bauhinia purpurea*) etc.[33] The 10th chapter of the Purvakhanòdòam of *Bròhaddharma Purânòa* describes the name of the flowers by which Œiva is pleased and worshipped such as *Karavî, Rakta Karavî, Úephalika* or *Œiuli* in Bengali, *Dronòapusòpa, Campaka, Nâgkeúara, Úirîsòa, Mucakunda, Vagarpusòpa, Vajrapusòpa, Dhustara, Ketakî* and *Tulasî* leaves. The merits of all these flowers can be acquired by giving only one lotus flower to Œiva as it is the most favorite flower of him.[34]

The author of these texts also instructed certain rules and regulations and various restrictions in the matter of food and drink. For example, exciting vegetables like 'rasona' or garlic (*Allium sativum*), 'palânòdu' or onion (*Allium cepa*) were not always accepted as food by the Brahmanas and widows.[35] Actually these two vegetables became more popular and were included in the food during the medieval period. *Bròhaddharma Purânòa* also prohibited *masûra* or lentil, *âmisò* or non-vegetable foods, oil and *tâmbula* or betel leaf as food for the Brahmacârîs. Vegetables and crops which are recommended for *Havisòya* are *Haimantik dhân* (âman paddy which ripened in the season of Hemanta), *Muga, Tila, Yava, Kalâya, Kangu, Nîvâra, Vâstuka, Hiñcâ, Kâla úâka* (*Corchorus capsularisa, Kemuka(Cheilocostus speciosus)*; among the fruits and spices *panasa, âmra, harîtakî, pippalî, jîraka, nâgaranga, tintidòî* (*Tamarindus indica*), *kadalî, lavalî and dhâtrîkala*, sugarcane without jaggery and Saindhava lavanòa, cowmilk and ghròta.[36] These foods are recommended for Brahmacârîs and widows.

Brahmavaivarta Purânòa [37] also restricted taking of certain plants as food for householders in particular months. For instance, in the month of Kârtika, the fruit of eggplant tree (*Vâtinganòaphala*), the radish in the month of Mâgha and in the four rainy months when Visònòu goes to sleep, the *Kalami úâka* should not be taken, otherwise the taking food will be similar to the flesh of cows.[38] The *Purânòa* listed the restricted fruits and vegetables which should not be taken from the first day (*pratipada*) to Purnòimâ/ Amavasyâ for instance the consumption of *Kûúamânòdòa* on the first day or *Pratipada, Bròhatî* or cockroach berry (*Solarium capsicoides*) on the second day, *patol* or pointed gourd on the third day, radish on the fourth day, *Bela* or wood-apple on the fifth day, *Nima* on the sixth day, *Tâla* on the seventh day, *Nârikela* on the eighth day, *Tumvî* or gourd on the ninth day, *Kalamvî* on the tenth day, *Œimbi* or bean in the eleventh day, *Pûtikâ* or Malabar spinach (*Basella alba*) on the twelve day, eggplant on the thirteenth day, *Mâsòkalâi* (*Vigna mungo*) on the fourteenth day and in the day of Purnòimâ or Amavasyâ any kind of fish or meat is prohibited for the householders.[39]

Conclusion

Texts are not merely a collection of imagination of the writers. Deconstruction of texts will lead us to understand the historical consciousness of the people of early India where availability of other sources is rare. Kâlidâsa, DaGi, Bhavabhûti and other known Sanskritists had a keen eye for nature. But the nature they saw was limited to certain areas, chiefly to gardens and to the forest. But in the literature of Bengal, we frequently come across with the references of farms and grazing lands, varieties of flowers, plants, food habit as well as familiar quotidian culture of Bengal which was generally ignored by the poets of classical tradition. We often find kind of bucolic melody in the poems composed in Bengal. The concept of garden with the rising courtly culture in the courts of Pâla and Sena rulers are also visible from these literature. Different types of flowers, fruits, crops, vegetables, spinach including their commercial usage, medical importance and certain restriction on these are noticed from these texts and this study gives us an idea of the picture of ecological variety of early Bengal on the basis of literature.

List of various types of floras represented in the literatures

Types of floras mentioned in the literatures	English names	Scientific names
Aœoka	Asoka tree	*Saraca asoca*
Lakuca	Monkey fruit or Monkey jack fruit	*Artocarpus lacucha/ Artocarpus lakoocha Roxb*
Œrifala	Wood apple	*Aegle marmelos*
Lavalî	Gooseberry	*Cicca disticha*
Panasa	Jackfruit	*Artocarpus hetrophyllus*
Nagaranga	Type of Orange	*Citrus reticulate/ Citrus medica*
Amròta (or Amalaki trees)	Emblic or Amla	*Phyllanthus emblica*
Karunòa trees	a kind of lemon tree	*Citrus decumana*
priyala (Draksòalata)	Grapes	*Vitis Vinifera*
Vamœa or Venòu	Bamboo	*Bambusa tulda*
Iksòu	Sugarcane	*Saccharum officinarum*
Elâ	Cardamom	*Elettaria cardamomum*
Priyângu	Droopy leaf	*Aglaia elaeagnoidea*
Sudha or Snuhi	Type of Cactus	*Opuntia ficus indica*
Aœana	A type of Œala tree	*Terminalia tomentosa*
Pan	Betel Leaf	*Piper betle*
Guvaka	Areca nut	*Areca catechu*
Narikela	Coconut	*Cocos nucifera*

Malati	Rangoon creeper	*Combretum indicum*
Nagakeœara	-	*Ochrocarpus longifolius*
Kesara (Vakula).	Spanish Cherry	*Mimusops elengi*
Parîjata	-	*Erythrina variegata*
lavanga	Clove	*Syzygium aromaticum*
Madhuka	Mango	*Mangifera indica*
Kanaka (Campaka flower)	Ylang-ylang vine	*Artabotrys hexapetalus*
Ketaki	Thatch screwpine	*Pandanus tectorius*
Tâla	Palm tree	*Borassus flabellifer*
Aravinda & Indivar	Lotus	*Nelumbo nucifera*
Muga	Green grain	*Vigna radiata*
Mâsòa	Black gram	*Vigna mungo*

Types of floras mentioned in the literatures	**English names**	**Scientific names**
Yava	Barley	*Hordeum vulgare*
Kâú	Catkin or Kans grass	*Saccharum spontaneum*
Masûra	Lentil	*Lens culinaris*
Yamâni	Bishop's weed	*Trachyspermum ammi*
Œatapucpâ	Fennel	*Foeniculum vulgare*
Vâstuka or bete úâk	Nettle-leaved goosefoot	*Chenopodium murale*
Kustumbinî	Coriander leaves	*Coriandrum sativum*
KiCœuka	Palash flower	*Butea frondosa*
Aœoka	Ashoka tree	*Jonesia asoka*
Kunda	Jasmine	*Jasminum multiflorum*
Patola	Pointed gourd	*Trichosanthes dioica*
Vârttâku	Eggplant	*Solanum melongena*
mûlaka	Radish	*Raphanus sativus*
Karavellâ	Bitter melon	*Momordica charantia*
Kârkomaka	Spiny gourd	*Momordica dioica*
Gojihvâ	-	*Onosma bracteatum*
CaGaka	gram/ chick pea	*Cicer arietinum*
Kulattha	-	*Dolichos biflorous*
Kulattha	Horse gram	*Macrotyloma uniflorum*
Kadalî	Banana	*Musa acuminata*
Œ[Egâtaka	-	*Water caltrop*
Haridrâ	Turmeric	*Curcuma longa*

Œigru	Drumstick tree	*Moringa pterygosperma*
MâtuluEga	-	*Citrus medica*
Dhâtrî	Amla	*Emblic myrobalan*
Dhâmargava	Bitter luffa	*Luffa acutangula*
KucmâGa	Pumpkin	*Benincasa hispida*
ŒuGmhî	Dried ginger	*Zingiber officinale*
Pippali	Long pepper	*Piper longum*
Marica	Black pepper	*Piper nigrum*
Khadira	Catechu	*Senegalia catechu*
Jirâka	Cumin seeds	*Cuminum cyminum*
Jâtiphala	Nutmeg	*Myristica beddome*
Ajamodâ	Ajwain	*Trachyspermum roxburghianum*
Nîvâra	Type of paddy	*Panicum italicum*
SunicaGGaka	Four leaf clover/ European waterclover	*Marsilea quadrifolia*
CâEgeri	Creeping woodsorrel	*Oxalis corniculata*
Kalambî	Water spinach	*Ipomoea aquatica*
Hilamocikâ or Hiñca	-	*Enhydra Hingcha*
Trapuca	cucumber	*Cucumis sativus*
Bhallâtaka	-	*Semecarpus anacardium*
Kapittha	Wood apple	*Limonia acidissima*

Types of floras mentioned in the literatures	**English names**	**Scientific names**
Mâlati	Malati	*Aganosma dichotoma*
Mallikâ	Mallika	*Jasminum sambac*
Yuthikâ	Jasmine	*Jasminum auriculatum*
Tagara	fool-foot flower	*Valeriana jatamansi*
Mandâra	Indian coral flower	*Erythrina variegate*
Úephâlika	Night-flowering jasmine	*Nyctanthes arbortristis*
Kutaja	Kurchi fruit	*Holarrhena pubescences*
Dhustara	Indian Thornapple	*Datura metel*
Campaka	-	*Michelia Champaca*
Bakula	Spanish cherry	*Mimusops elengi*
Úirîca	lebbek tree	*Albizia lebbeck*
Navamâlika	Star jasmine	*Jasminum arborescenes*

Mucakunda	Cork-leaved bayur	*Pterospermum Suberifolium*
Bandhuka	-	*Pentapetes phoenicea*
ŒiAúapâ	Rosewood tree	*Dalbergia Sissoo Roxb*
Hintâla	-	*Cycas circinalis*
Vetra	Cane	*Calamus tenuis Roxb*
Kharjura	Date Palm tree	*Phoenix dactylifera*
Piyâla	Chironji tree	*Buchanania cochinchinensis*
Nameru	Rudraksa	*Elaeocarpus Ganitrus*
Kobidâr	-	*Bauhinia purpurea*
Rasona	Garlic	*Allium sativum*
PalâGdu	Onion	*Allium cepa*
Kemuka	Crepe ginger	*Cheilocostus speciosus*
Kâla úâka	White jute	*Corchorus capsularis*
Tintiî	Melanesian papeda	*Tamarindus indica*
B[hatî	cockroach berry	*Solarium capsicoides*
Pûtikâ	Malabar spinach	*Basella alba*

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19   *RC* 3.22

20   *RC,* 3.26.

21   *RC,*3,42.

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27   *Ibid.* pp. 14-15.

28   *Ibid.*p. 13.

29   *Pavanaduta*, verse 26.

30   *Saduktikarnòâmròta* 4.58.4.

31   Chakravarty, *Op. Cit*, pp. 29-34.

32   Panchanan Tarkaratna, ed. and trans. into Bengali, *B[haddharmapurâGam*(hereafter *BP*), Calcutta, 1300 BS, verseI. 7. 38- 40.

33   *BP,* I. 7.41-43.

34   *BP,* I. 10. 27-36.

35   Chakravarty, *Op. Cit,* p. 38.

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37   Panchanan Tarkaratna, ed. and trans. into Bengali, *BrahmavaivartapurâGam* (hereafter *BVP*), Calcutta, 1332 BS.

38   Vâtinganòaphala caiva gomâmsam kârtike smròtam/ mâghe ca mûlakam caiva kalamvi úayane tatha;*BVP* 1.27.26.

39   *BVP* 1.27.29-35.

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ODISHA'S MAJOR BUDDHIST SITES : A COMPREHENSIVE STUDY

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Abstract

This study examines the interconnected Buddhist monastic complexes of Ratnagiri, Lalitgiri, Udayagiri, Langudi, and Parabhadi, located in Odisha, India, as a significant cluster reflecting the evolution of Buddhism from Ashokan periods. These sites, spanning Hinayana, Mahayana, and Vajrayana traditions, provide crucial archaeological and textual evidence for the development and dissemination of Buddhist philosophy and practice in eastern India. Archaeological excavations reveal the architectural and sculptural richness of these centers. This research analyzes the chronological development, stylistic variations, and socio-religious significance of these sites, highlighting their collective contribution to the understanding of Buddhist monasticism and its regional variations. The inclusion of Parabhadi, a recently recognized site, further enhances our understanding of the density and complexity of Buddhist activity in this region.

Key words: Odisha, Buddhist site, Lalitgiri, Udayagiri, Ratnagiri, Langudi, Parabhadi.

Introduction

Odisha, situated in eastern India, possesses a significant Buddhist heritage, manifest in its numerous archaeological sites. The "Diamond Triangle," comprised of Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, and Lalitagiri, constitutes the most prominent cluster of these sites, revealing the trajectory of Buddhist development from Hinayana to Mahayana and Vajrayana traditions. These sites, alongside others such as Langudi and Parabhadi, attest to a thriving Buddhist presence spanning from the reign of Emperor Ashoka through subsequent centuries. While Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, and Lalitagiri have been previously documented, this research investigates two additional sites, Langudi and Parabhadi, to broaden the understanding of Buddhist influence in the region. The historical narrative of Buddhism in Odisha is vividly illustrated at Dhauli, where the sculpted elephant emerging from the rock above Ashoka's inscriptions provides an artistic representation of this era. Archaeological evidence from Dhauli, Jaugada, Bhubaneswar, and Langudi, coupled with artifacts discovered at Lalitagiri, Langudi, and Udayagiri, suggests a robust Hinayana Buddhist tradition prevalent in Odisha from Ashoka's period until the early second century CE[1]. The Nagarjunakonda inscription, dating to the mid-third century CE, which mentions Ceylonese monks preaching in Tosali (modern Dhauli), further reinforces the presence of Hinayana influence. The seventh-century visit of Chinese traveler Xuanzang (Hsuan Tsang) to "Wu cha" (Orissa) provides further historical context. His account of the

"Pusi-po-kili monastery" with its radiating stupa, likely referring to Udayagiri, offers valuable insight into the Buddhist landscape of the time[2].

The early Bhaumakara rulers, initially devout Buddhists, fostered the ascendancy of Mahayana Buddhism, which even became the state religion. Excavations revealing numerous *viharas* (monasteries) at Lalitagiri, Udayagiri, and Ratnagiri, near Jajpur, substantiate this flourishing period. However, contemporary textual records documenting these Buddhist establishments in Odisha remain scarce. The significance of the "Diamond Triangle" sites— Lalitagiri, Udayagiri, and Ratnagiri—is demonstrated by the extensive monastic remains and the rich collection of sculptural antiquities unearthed. Numerous sculptures and images of Buddha, Dhyani Buddhas, Avalokitesvara, Tara, Vajrapani, Maitreya, Manjushri, Jambala, Hariti, Heruka, Yamari, Aparajita, Chunda, and Vasundhara, found at various Buddhist centers across Odisha, showcase the region's artistic excellence, particularly from the 5th-6th to the 13th-14th centuries CE[3]. Literary sources such as the *Divyavadana*, *Buddhavamsa*, *Dathadhatuvamsa*, *Majjhima Nikaya*, *Janasiddhi*, *Budhayana Dharmasutra*, *Si-yu-ki*, *Blue Annals*, and Lama Taranath's *History of Buddhism* provide supplementary information regarding the state of Buddhism in Odisha during this period[4].

The geographical proximity of Lalitagiri, Udayagiri, and Ratnagiri, along with their likely connection to the ancient city of Jajpur, suggests a network of interconnected Buddhist settlements. Other nearby sites, including Kolanagiri, Vajragiri, Langudi Tarapur, and Deuli, likely functioned as satellite centers, fostering academic pursuits during the Hinayana, Mahayana, and Vajrayana phases. Recent research has revealed numerous additional sites with Buddhist remains throughout Odisha, indicating a widespread presence of Mahayana and Vajrayana traditions. These sites, including those in Balasore, Mayurbhanj, Jajpur, Cuttack, Anugul, Boudh, and Bargarh districts, further underscore the growth and popularity of these Buddhist pantheons[5].

From the eighth century onwards, a shift occurred in the prevailing Mahayana Buddhism of Odisha. The patronage of Saivism by the later Kara kings led to a decline in royal support for monastic establishments. The subsequent adoption of Vajrayana, an esoteric form of Buddhism, allowed Mahayana to adapt and survive. The Vajrayana pantheon offered greater artistic freedom, evident in the sculptures at Lalitagiri, Ratnagiri, and other sites. The prominence of deities like Tara and Avalokitesvara, particularly in their Vajra Tara and Lokesvara forms, further characterise this period. While these three major sites—Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, and Lalitagiri—stand as testaments to a rich Buddhist past, their decline began in the tenth century, marking the eventual waning of this religious tradition in the region[6].

The rediscovery of Odisha's Buddhist heritage began in 1869 with C.S. Banerjee's visit to Udayagiri and Lalitagiri, his account in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* bringing these long-forgotten sites to scholarly attention. John Beames further documented these sites, even relocating sculptures to Cuttack. Ratnagiri was similarly "rediscovered" in 1890 by M.M. Chakravarti. These initial explorations paved the way for more systematic research, with scholars like D. Mitra, P.K. Trivedi, and J.K. Patnaik publishing excavation results and subsequent work by researchers like S. B. Ota, H.C. Prusty, M. Chauley, and U.

Mishra further illuminating the historical and archaeological significance of these Buddhist sites. The explorations carried out by several scholars brought to light many sites yielding Buddhist remains, and antiquities throughout the length and breadth of the state of Odisha. Veritably, the entire state was littered with Mahayana and Vajrayana antiquities. Some note-worthy sites of Odisha yielding Buddhist remains are Jayaramapur, Khadipada, Mohanapur, Ayodhya, Bhuinpara, Kasba in Balasore district; Khiching Ranibandha, Udala in Mayurbhanj district; Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, Kolanagiri, Solampur, Vajragiri, Jajpur, Langudi, Tarapur, Kaima in Jajpur district, Lalitagiri, Brahmavana, Choudwar, Baneswaranasi, Kundeswar, Rameswar in Cuttack district, Talcher in Anugul district; Boudh, Shyamsundarpur and Pargalpur in Boudh district and Ganiapali in Bargarh district. These findings of Buddhist relics in the districts mentioned above surely indicate the tremendous growth and popularity of the Mahayana and Vajrayana pantheons of Buddhism[7].
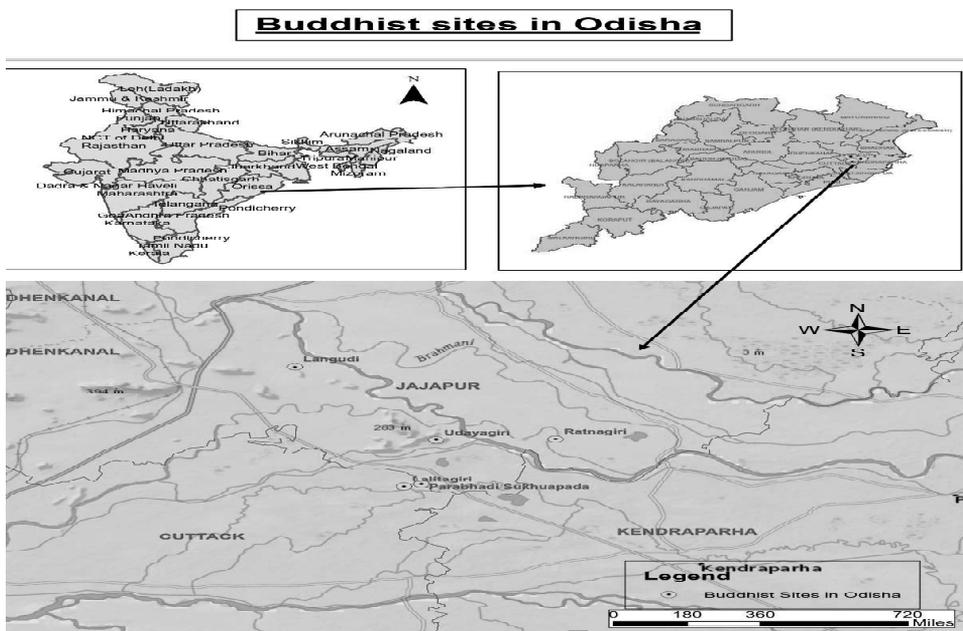

Fig. 1: Map of Dimond-triangle, Buddhist Heritage sites in Odisha.

Major Buddhist Sites

Ratnagiri

The excavations at Ratnagiri proved its beginning at least since the Gupta period. This establishment witnessed a phenomenal growth in architecture and sculptural art up to the twelfth century CE. This settlement was known as Sri Ratnagiri Mahavihara Arya Bhikshu Sanghasya based on seals and sealings. Archaeological excavations at Ratnagiri substantiate its establishment during the Gupta period, marking the inception of a site that witnessed significant architectural and sculptural development through the 12th century CE (Mitra, D. 1981). The mature stylistic qualities of Ratnagiri's Buddhist iconography facilitated the

dissemination of its artistic influence to Java during the Sailendra dynasty, originating from the Sailodbhava rulers of Kongada. These images serve as crucial artifacts in tracing the historical trajectory of Kalinga's colonization of Java, Sumatra, and Bali during the 7th and 8th centuries CE[8]. Notably, striking stylistic parallels exist between the Ratnagiri images and those of Buddha and Bodhisattvas at Borobudur in Java, characterized by shared conceptual clarity, severity, and spiritual fervor. It is hypothesized that the Buddhist images of Ratnagiri and Lalitagiri served as stylistic prototypes for Javanese Buddhist iconography[9].

The Ratnagiri complex encompasses monasteries, a Mahastupa, smaller votive stupas, and tantric Buddhist iconography. The site was initially identified by Rai Manmohan Chakravarti in the early twentieth century. The Mahastupa, situated on the summit of Ratnagiri hill, constitutes a primary Buddhist structure. The stupa is positioned on a podium exhibiting a tri-ratha pattern, characterized by six vertical projections on each side. In addition to the Mahastupa, the complex includes smaller stupas enclosed within a boundary wall. These smaller stupas are categorized into structural and monolithic types. Structural stupas, constructed from brick or stone, exhibit circular, square, octagonal, or square-with-offsets forms, while monolithic stupas are carved from single stone blocks, potentially containing corporal remains (saririka) or serving as votive offerings (Mitra, D. 1981).

Recent archaeological investigations at the Ratnagiri Buddhist monastery complex, conducted by the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), have resulted in the discovery of three colossal Buddha heads, a large palm carving, an ancient wall, and inscriptions, further enriching the site's heritage. The architectural features of Ratnagiri demonstrate a synthesis of Mahayana and Vajrayana Buddhist traditions, as evidenced by the stupas, monasteries, and intricate sculptures. The site underwent multiple phases of renovation, reflecting the continuous religious and artistic evolution over centuries.

Fig. 2: Aerial view of Monastery I & II of the Ratnagiri

Udayagiri

Udayagiri, which means '*hills of the rising sun'* is a significant Buddhist cultural heritage site in the state of Odisha. It forms a part of the '*diamond triangle'* of the state, along with Ratnagiri and Lalitgiri and is situated equidistant from both. The site located in the Jajpur district and near the bank of Bada Genguti river holds the remnants of ancient stupas, monasteries and sculptures that testify to the region's flourishing Buddhist culture[10].

The initial reference of Udayagiri dates back to 1870, which is documented in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Chandrasekhar Banurji, the then Deputy Magistrate of Jajpur. The brief mentioned the figure of the Buddha and a gate inside the compound. The hill and the site also found its mention in the fictional novel of Bankim Chandra Chaterjee 'Sitaram' written in 1887. The novel which is an unusual source for such a reference, describes the natural beauty of the place along with its Buddhist stupas and temples. The sculptors, inscriptions and ruins of the stupas were also recorded in Modern Review by HC Chakaldar, professor of Calcutta University in 1928 and subsequently, in the survey reports of Ram Prasad Chanda, the then superintending Archaeologist of the Indian museum in 1930. Further, the site was also highlighted in the book titled 'Buddhism in Orissa' written by Prof. N K Sahu in 1958 and published by Utkal University. The book provides a historical analysis of the origin and propagation of Buddhism in Odisha, starting from the 5th century B.C. to the early 16th century A.D. As described by N.K. Sahu through his scholarly exposition, Udayagiri is the most unique form of the Buddhist artistic creations that houses several mounds of the ruins of Buddhist Monuments such as the colossal image of 'Avalokitesvara', the figure of Dhyani Buddha, etc. Although the written documentation of the site started in 1870, the site was taken under the supervision of ASI in 1937 and the excavation of the remnants was carried out post-1985 in different phases. The first phase of excavation started in 1985-86 and continued for several years till 1989. This excavation was confined to the northern side of the valley where the Maha stupa was exposed and also led to the discovery of a huge monastic complex named *Madhavapura-Mahavira* along with sculptures of Buddha and Buddhist divinities. The next phase of excavation was conducted during 1997-2000 and revealed another monastery named *Simhaprastha-Mahavira* to the northwest of the earlier monastery, with a central shrine consecrating a huge Buddha sculpture[11]. The last phase of excavation was executed in 2001-2003, which led to the central finding of an apsidal chaityagrha. After the final phase of excavation, it was concluded that the Buddhist establishment of Udayagiri witnessed three phases of construction after which it was abandoned. The first phase of construction is attributable to the 1st Century CE, which consists of the apsidal structure and the inscriptions in Brahmi script. The second phase, which is assignable to 6th Century CE, went through the construction of a brick chaityagrha and a stone stupa along with donative inscriptions[12]. The Third and final phase of the development encountered the construction of the monasteries along with several sculptures and stone inscriptions dating back to the 8th to 12th century CE and which were uncovered in the first two phases of excavations of 1985-1989 and 1997-2000[13].

The remnants of the Buddhist site of Udayagiri, specifically the female divinities' sculptors, suggest that Vajrayana Practices influenced the establishment. Based upon the findings of various mandala sculptures, Donaldson states that *". it is quite apparent that this must have been an important centre for the concept of Yoga-mandala which espouses the total integration of the two mandalas manifesting the nature of the karuna and prajna respectively."*

Fig. 3: Aeriel view of Stupa Complex, Udayagiri

Lalitgiri

Lalitagiri settlement is named Naltagiri, after the 'Nalti' ancient is a corrupted form of the Arabic word *'lanat'* or 'curse', so named after a traditional narrative in the locality. Lalitagiri in Mâhanga tehsil of Cuttack District (Lat. 20° 35' N; Long. 86° 15' E) is about 5.5km from Balichandrapur from the NH 5A on the way to Paradip port. The nearest Railway Station is Jajpur-Keonjhar Road on the Kolkata-Chennai main line of the East-Coast Railway; the nearest Bus Station is Balichandrapur. It is located approximately 85km northeast of Bhubaneswar, the capital city, via Cuttack and Chandikhol. The name of the mouza or village is Naltagiri or Naltagiri (Lalitagiri). In the vicinity are two other excavated celebrated Buddhist sites constituting the 'Diamond Triangle' *viz.,* Ratnagiri and Udayagiri both in Jajpur district.

The site was subjected to excavation in the eighties of the last century by the Late Dr G.C. Chauley of Bhubaneswar Circle Archaeological Survey of India. The excavations of several seasons are the result of one of the most important Buddhist sites in Odisha. Lalitgiri is a prominent Buddhist site that yielded the findings of Bricks apsidal chaitya, Buddhist antiquities in the form of monasteries, with the evidence of double-storied cells observed in the monasteries there are a total of four monasteries. Apsidal chaitya shows the development of the apsidal structure in Odisha. This is the first apsidal chaitya in Odisha with beautiful carved Bricks and mouldings. In the latter phase, chaitya was constructed by Bricks and

khondalite[14]. Still, it dispelled the identification of Puspagiri like those of other Buddhist sites of Ratnagiri and Udayagiri in the vicinity of Lalitagiri, as the inscribed sealings recovered from one of the monasteries of Lalitagiri read as 'Sri Chandraditya Vihara' (Patnaik, J. 2017).

The archaeological excavation of Lalitgiri yielded a new chapter of Buddhist excavation with the discoveries of the Stupa, now this Stupa called the Mahastupa[15]. A stupa made up of clay mortar and khondalite stone. Also found the circumambulatory path with the stupa with a paved stone slab. Stupa with a proper structure that has a dome. One of the most important discoveries of this excavation is the Relic Casket, from the Mahastupa, three Khondalite relic caskets were retrieved during the excavation of the stupa. Within the stupa-shaped outer khondalite container were found, one within the other, a steatite casket, a circular silver casket and a gold casket containing a bone relic. These two sets are all alike except for one bone fragment wrapped in gold foil. One more similar set, but only the khondalite container discovered near the periphery of the south which was found empty[16]. This is the first relic casket that was unearthed from the Lalitgiri, the first in Odisha, Now, this relic casket is displayed in the Lalitgiri Site Museum, Archaeological Survey of India, Puri Circle. The Chaitya Hall, also retrieved from the Kushana Brahmi inscription, a Votive stupa in the Gupta Period Chaitya Hall was in use from the time of the early Christian era till the end of the 8th Century A.D. More than a dozen images of Muchhalinda Buddha and Buddha flanked by Indra and Brahma descend from heaven recovered from the apsidal chaitya (Patnaik. J. 2017)[17].

Archaeological excavations at Lalitagiri revealed a continuous occupation of the site by the followers of Buddhism almost from the second century BCE to the thirteenth century CE[18]. Apart from these, the discovery of Kushana-Brahmi donatory inscriptions datable to the first-second century CE, Gupta gold coin, shell script inscriptions of the post-Gupta period, and the remnant of a bas relief of the first century CE are significant data in elucidating Lalitagiri as a Buddhist centre at par with Udayagiri and Ratnagiri. Several sculptures found from the excavation include the Padmapani Avalokitesvara, Vajrapani, Buddha with (Varada Mudra, Bhumi Sparsh), Aprajita, Tara, Manjushri, Bodhisattva, Nataraja and Maitreya[19].

Fig. 4: Aerial view of the Monastery complex, Lalitgiri

Langudi

The existence of Buddhist remains on Langudi Hill was first documented by T.S. Motte in 1766. Working for the East India Company, he was travelling through the region en-route to Sambalpur and documented military activities and other anecdotes in this journal. When T.S. Motte saw Langudi hill, it was covered with trees. A period of deliberate deforestation commenced in the early 1950s by local villagers in an attempt to reduce the number of wild animals on the hill, which they claimed were a menace. Another important site to the south of Radhanagar settlement is Langudi at a distance of two km. The important ends from Langudi are the images of Ashoka (or royal figures). During 2000-2001 excavation sessions at Langudi, an inscribed image (bust) has been discovered in the entrance of the early stupa. B.N. Mukharjee of Calcutta University deciphered the inscription reading as "Chhikarenaranj Ashokena in Prakrit language in Brahmi script, which is Sanskritised as "Sri Karenaranja Ashokena", dated to second-first century BCE. (Mukherjee, B.N. 1997)[20].

The famous Chinese Buddhist monk-scholar Hiuen T'sang (also known as Husan Tsang and Xuanzang) who traveled extensively throughout northern India between 634 and 645 A.D, describes a monastery and university he visited in 639 A.D. named *Pu-se-p'o-k'i-li* in the south-west region of a country known as Ota or Udra, which is identified as Odra in present-day Odisha. During the decade of excavations at Langudi between 1996 and 2006, a fragmented Brahmi inscription was discovered naming the site as *pucpa sabhar giriya* ("flower-filled hill"). This almost certainly is the same site mentioned by Hiuen T'sang (Xuanzang), and so finally after many centuries of being lost, Pushpagri has now been rediscovered. Inscribed records were noticed by H.C. Prusty and K.S. Behera[21]. According to B.N. Mukherjee, two inscriptions in stone found from excavations in 1995-96 were written in early Brahmi character datable to the first-second century CE. The first one has been read as *Sripuspa sabhara giraya* means the illustrious mountain loaded with flowers. Another Brahmi inscription as deciphered by B.N. Mukherjee as Puspagiri *kanana haladhara kasa pracha valasa* or the ploughman of Puspagiri *kanana* (garden) datable to second century CE (Mukherjee, B.N. 1997)[22]. Based on the available rock-cut sculptures, excavated remains, it can be surmised that Langudi was one of the earliest Buddhist establishments which seems to have passed through all three phases of Buddhism, i.e., Hinayana, Mahayana and Vajrayana[23,24]. However, an intensive study into the remains and antiquities from Langudi is required by a team of scholars to substantiate identification of Puspagiri *Mahavihara* of Hiuen Tsang[25].

Excavations here confirmed what was widely suspected, the conspicuous mound was indeed a massive stupa, 20m in diameter and made from uniform bricks[26]. Findings from the stupa included a parasol of the Mauryan era, uncarved *suchi* (cross-bar), pillars, northern black polished ware and fragmentary inscriptions[27].

Fig. 5: Rock Cut stupa complex, Langudi

Fig. 6: Aeriel view of the Mahastupa, Langudi Buddhist site.

Parabhadi (Sukhuapada)

Parabhadi Hill, also known as Sukhuapada Hill, is situated amidst Sukhuapada village to the south, Bandareswar to the northeast, Lalitagiri to the southwest, and Kesharaipur village to the north. This heritage hillock, presently located within the Jajpur and Cuttack districts, holds significant archaeological importance due to its brick mounds, scattered stone structural remnants, rock-cut caves, and images. Local legend suggests that Parabhadi Hill (where "para" means pigeon and "bhadi" means storey/house) served as a pigeon shelter, constructed by a king to train pigeons for message delivery across various localities. Parabhadi Hill is

composed of lateritic soil and khondalite rock boulders, extending in a north-south direction for approximately 1.5 kilometers and spanning 0.5 kilometers east to west. The Parabhadi stupa is situated on this hill. The hillock, part of the Assia range (an offshoot of the Eastern Ghats), extends in a northeast-southwest orientation for about 1.5 kilometers. The site is located 5.5 kilometers from Balichandrapur, a town adjacent to National Highway 53, which runs from Hajira in Gujarat to Paradeep Port. It is approximately 80 kilometers northeast of Bhubaneswar, the state capital of Odisha.

Recent excavations in 2023 at Parabhadi hillock have unearthed a stone-built ashlar masonry stupa, dating back to the 7th and 8th centuries CE. The stupa, square in plan, measures 10.80 meters square and rests directly on the natural rock surface at the hilltop. A square Medhi, measuring 8.60 meters square, features a central projection of 2.30 meters on each of its four sides. The existing dilapidated stupa stands 4.50 meters high from the surface level. The stone masonry is notable for its construction, utilizing iron clamps anchored with riveted pin heads, and the annular spaces are filled with a specialized mud mortar mixed with stone chips and potsherds. During the excavation, fourteen artifacts, crafted from stone and terracotta, were retrieved[28]. These antiquities, including sling balls, iron clamps, pestles, broken Buddha sculptures, and two terracotta ploughs depicting votive stupas and Buddha, further confirm the stupa's dating back to the 7th-8th century CE (Garnayak, et.al. 2024).

Fig. 7: Aerial view of the Parabhadi stupa

Conclusion

The cluster of Buddhist sites in Odisha, encompassing Ratnagiri, Lalitgiri, Udayagiri, Langudi, and the significant stupa site of Parabhadi, presents a compelling field of study for scholars investigating the trajectory of Buddhism in Eastern India. These sites collectively demonstrate a chronological depth, spanning from the early centuries BCE through to the medieval period, and reveal the evolution of Buddhist practices from Hinayana and Mahayana to the prominence of Vajrayana. Archaeological investigations at these locations have yielded substantial evidence of monastic complexes, stupas, and sculptural representations, providing

insights into the architectural and artistic developments of the periods. Notably, the discovery of relic caskets at Lalitgiri underscores the site's importance within the Buddhist sacred landscape. Furthermore, the identification of Langudi as a potential location for the historically significant Pushpagiri Mahavihara has prompted reassessments of established scholarly narratives. The addition of Parabhadi to this grouping, with its important Stupa site, adds to the wealth of information regarding the spread of Buddhist Stupa construction.

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OCCUPATIONAL STRESS, JOB SATISFACTION & EMPLOYEE LOYALTY IN HOSPITALITY INDUSTRY: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF HOTELS IN ODISHA

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Abstract

Stress is a physiological and psychological response to perceived threat. In the context of the workplace, it often occurs when an individual perceives the demands of a situation to exceed the resources available to meet these demands Stress at work is not only caused by work overload and time pressure but also by lack of praise and rewards, and especially, by not allowing the individuals with the autonomy to do their work as per their liking. Any Hospitality Sector must begin to manage people at work in a different way, by treating them with respect and also by valuing their personal contributions. Our example comprised of 500 Hotel care experts measured in various congregations. A normalized survey is utilized in the current investigation for coping strategies of stress, assessing the techniques that people utilize so as to defeat a distressing circumstance. The survey was first tried for acceptability and reliability which are discovered and acceptable. The main intention of this study is to evaluate research relating to the effects of managing procedures and resilience on the workplace stress level.

Keywords: Work environment, Stress, Services, Enthusiasm, Impact, Resilience, Systems.

Introduction

Stress has several implications depending on its field of application. In scientific sense, the word stress means the measure of the impact of an applied physical force being exhibited over a unit surface area of a given material body. Generally speaking, stress is an index of pressure in a real sense. However, in a virtual sense, the term stress is also frequently used to reflect the state of affair of living beings in the form of physical stress, mental stress, relational stress, work stress, travel stress and many more. Though, there is no direct mode of measuring the virtual stress, it may be logically possible to diagnose the impacts of stress through various symptoms and behavioural tendencies exhibited by human beings arising out of these perennial stress syndromes. In this work, the Authors have carried out a rigorous study to identify various realistic and sceptical reasons behind the mental stress that people in various positions associated to health sectors carry along with the result of their work and practices.

There has been several studies and research in the past contributing to identification of the possible cause of stress development among the people engaged in various capacities, arising out of work culture of the system and its components. A through study of the literature

reveals that, stress is linked to overloading of assignments at work place, conflicting attitude between members in the group dealing with the assignments, and feeling of insecurity in accomplishing the target within fixed deadlines. Since the impact of stress is directly reflected in the mind, the person gets seriously affected both physically and psychologically. It is also pertinent to analyse that the common type of health issues exhibited in human beings resulting from job stress and work overloads are in the form of development of gradual mental depression, loss of sharpness in memorising facts and events, remaining absent minded due to poor attention, and reciprocation of anger. If these temporal issues continue and sustain over a considerably longer period of time, the affected person may become a victim of inefficiency and exhaustion, which might lead to cynicism.

Psychological well-being concerns coming about because of stress and over-burden can bring about lost workdays, lower worker profitability, and low occupation turnover rates. These conditions can increase the costs of organisational staffing and health benefits. The inability to cope or adapt to stressful conditions results in poor leadership performance, which might induce adverse effects towards the stability of organisations.

In view of these stress related studies and associated behavioural tendency of human beings, the Authors of this work have been motivated to carry out further analysis in a more specific manner, in order to address the issue of stress developed due to working habits and its impact on respective human beings, concerned organisations, and moreover, the society as well. The Authors strongly feel that a practical and realistic approach for this analysis could only be viable by interacting a selected group of individuals from the society those are having their engagement in various types of organisations and collecting their personal opinion in the form of sample qestionnaires for further study and review.

The outcome of this survey is organised in a simple and lucid manner and presented in this paper, which contains review of the existing literature relevant to this study in the next section. This is followed by the proposed scheme that comprises of the methodology for conducting the survey, the procedure for preparation of sample database by converting the opinion and views of stakeholders into a digital format, and finally performing a statistical analysis of the sample data for extraction of the output results. In the end, the Authors have tried to put forth the results of the analysis in both numerical form and graphical form of representations in order to facilitate better understanding and justify proper validation of the goals and objectives of this work.

Literature Review

Several researchers have studied the impact of work stress in service sectors especially on the health of employees working in various organisations and also there are lots of scopes for improvement of resilience as suggested in the literature. A brief note on these findings is listed below in order to emphasize the importance for this search. The present study is moreover oriented in a similar direction, while specifically targeting to address the impact of work stress on the physique of employees working in health sectors of India.

Mental and social results of work environment stress are given a wide introduction in the writing. Aside from physiological estimates that are considered as pointers of stress related issues, for example, coronary ailment, peptic ulcer additionally contributes a great deal in expanding the danger by aggregation of more elevated levels of serum cholesterol, fatty oil serum, uric corrosive, and post-morning cholesterol levels, which prompts heightening of circulatory strain.

A portion of the conspicuous psycho-social pointers of work environment stress likewise incorporate issues with individual and expert connections, a sleeping disorder, migraines, uneasiness, alarm assaults, and melancholy. Additionally, investigated the commonness of rest misfortune and weakness among clinical work force and noted connections with stress, the frequency of clinical blunders, and nature of patient consideration. At one outrageous of the continuum, there is additionally proof to recommend that, work pressure is connected to working environment animosity and brutality.

Specifically, wellbeing experts were appeared to have higher paces of work environment stress and the negative results related with it. Normally, methods for adapting to work environment stress include working more diligently, pushing through, or enduring it. Such methodologies can demonstrate impractical over the long haul. Truth be told, some momentary adapting techniques, for example, Presentism, which included working while sick or harmed. Researchers have identified three primary domains of human adaptation in stressful situations: Cognitive strategies, Social support strategies and Emotional management strategies. In a review of literature on organisational factors mediating work stress, key practices found to contribute to improved performances in a stressful workplace is included.

The different salient points are as follows.

- Clarity of jobs and undertakings

- Opportunity for control and strengthening, comparable to work measures

- Open communication and transparency

- Supervisory uphold, regarding giving useful input and learning openings

- Congruency with the organisational vision and values

- Enthusiastic administration systems can be key to the underlying pressure reaction and incorporate how people inform the circumstance and its level of danger, how they control the passionate reaction of battle or-flight, and what moves they make to arrive at passionate harmony. Basic emotive skills include mindfulness and abilities in controlling passionate reactions

- Establishing who is responsible and for what

- Dissecting proof to isolate realities from suppositions

- Acting to establish control over events

- Reducing disarray and struggle by improving lines of correspondence

- Setting objectives and participating in learning methodologies that help change and development

- Asking questions, observing what works and adjusting strategies. Social help and solid informal organizations upgrade a few people's ability to adjust to upsetting workplaces. People exhibit more prominent capacity to accomplish viable power over their feelings and practices when they access outer assets, for example, companions, social assistance helping frameworks, or partners and bosses in their associations.

Methodology for the analysis of stress development at workplace

Unexpectedly, gainful work environments and solid societies are frequently described as being related with high multifaceted nature, quick change and danger taking advancement. Challenge and stress can likewise uphold development. So as to encourage a limit with regards to more prominent flexibility or flourishing in the work environment, numerous working environments have received an assortment of wellbeing programs, upheld to different degrees by the medical advantage provider. Offering Gyms, practice programs, wellbeing pioneers, wellbeing advancement authorities, and vouchers for outside projects in or close to the work environment are normal activities. Assortment of procedures encouraged a flourishing reaction to work environment worry in a workplace. Most significant was offering and preparing in the utilization of adapting procedures to address the basic issues instead of essentially fixing the issue with an end goal to cause it to disappear rapidly. Other working environment activities that can cultivate a flourishing versatility to stretch include:

Cognitive evaluation preparing to assist people with perceiving and see past what they cannot control so as to outline the issue all the more efficiently and comprehensively. Social and authoritative activities that help a culture of open correspondence, mental security and the ability to recognize the primary issue and uncover sources of idividual force and control, which are expected to help the difficult serving, correspondence and reflexion important to flourish in the midst of pressure.

• Communication and critical thinking procedures being created and upgraded through preparing in correspondence arranging and in the plan of correspondence frameworks that encourage critical thinking and executing arrangements.

The hierarchical culture of a work environment can liable to have more effect in cultivating a domain that assists representatives with being stronger to worry inside a fastpaced, rapidly changing, complex condition. Hierarchical culture is the qualities, beliefs, and suppositions of an association ordered through its different basic, political and correspondence channels and antiques (e.g., Organizational Chart, power structures, Roles and duties, types and timing of interchanges, format of office space, access and accessibility of assets, convey different convictions, qualities and presumptions). Encouraging an atmosphere and culture that qualities wellbeing, offers mental security and advances gaining from blunders or disappointment is basic to build up a strong pressure, flourishing or adapting limit inside the representatives.

The thought of transformation and versatility reverberates inside the wellbeing calling writing. In an audit of flexibility it is corresponding to wellbeing callings and their transformation to the wellbeing in the working environment. For instance, each day attendants and paramedics are set in awful or emergency circumstances that are incredibly unfriendly. The analysts highlight the collection of worry after some time as the greatest danger to the wellbeing and prosperity of wellbeing experts. Individuals will in general have a sensibly steady typical condition of excitement when they are alert until some occasion or action changes their condition of excitement essentially. Rest is one such change; the battle or flight reaction to an intense stressor is another.

In a perfect world, people would have a chance to recuperate completely from the physiological changes delivered by the pressure reaction, and their excitement profile would return at the appointed time to its typical levels. In any case, in numerous working environment situations, and particularly in wellbeing callings, the recurrence of stressors is sufficiently high to forestall recuperation. In these cases, people start to recuperate from one intense pressure reaction who ever has not yet finished the process when another stressor happens, creating a covering pressure reaction. In a high pressure condition, the recurrence of upsetting occasions can keep people from completely recuperating from or enhancing the stressor and subsequently getting back to the first condition of excitement until they have completed work for the afternoon. Recuperation at this stage is probably going to take longer than it would be from a solitary unpleasant occasion – a result of aggregate pressure. On the off chance that the work environment is incessantly unpleasant, the outcome can be a suffering change in excitement state, with that a more significant level turning into the new "ordinary" state, intruded on just by rest. The specialists recommend that rehearsing successful unwinding can switch this total cycle and really bring down an individual's "typical" excitement state, making the individual stronger in general. The idea is that, after a meeting of, state, yoga, reformist muscle unwinding, or supernatural reflection, the individual's excitement list will have fallen altogether, and when that individual re-visitations of common exercises, the person will hold a marginally more loosened up state than ordinary. After some time, regularly for a while, this change can get enduring, bringing about another lower "typical" condition of excitement – right around an identical representation of the higher excitement created by long haul pressure.

Conclusion

The productivity of the work force is the most decisive factor as far as the success of an organisation is concerned. The productivity in turn is dependent on the psychosocial well being of the employees. This particular research was intended to study the stress resilience on public sector managerial personnel of famous hospitals in Cuttack and Bhubaneswar city of Odisha. The impact of various socio-demographic factors on stress level of managers in public sector reveals that gender and marital status have a significant impact on employees' stress levels. It is therefore necessary for the employees at the workplaces the sources of role stress first.

Moreover, knowing the sources can be helpful in choosing a method to deal with role stress. Although it is not possible to control all of life's events and identification of role stress

is a complicated task in the organizational context, through right understanding and good planning, role stress and its causes among employees can be alleviated to a very great extent and productivity can be enhanced. Success always belongs to employees who can manage stress effectively, eliminate emotional problems, sustain mental well-being, and encourage subordinates to work in the midst of stressful environments. If we enhance the psychological well-being and health of the employees, in the coming future the banking industry would make more revenue as well as employee retention, because it is said that,"A Healthy Employee is a Productive Employee".

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